

GOOGLE IN CHINA: EXAMINING HEGEMONIC IDENTIFICATION STRATEGIES  
IN ORGANIZATIONAL RHETORIC

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## **DEDICATION**

To my parents for making education the centerpiece of my life. And to my wife and best friend for without her, I would not be the person I am today and will be tomorrow.

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**ABSTRACT**

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**GOOGLE IN CHINA: EXAMINING HEGEMONIC IDENTIFICATION STRATEGIES  
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The author employs Hoffman and Ford's method for analyzing organizational rhetoric to examine the discourse of Google, Inc. Employing a hybrid method, built on rhetorical criticism which incorporates elements of organizational communication theory, the analysis examines identity rhetoric present in Google's discourse regarding its operations in China. Using this approach, the author leverages the method to critically examine hegemonic aspects of the discourse in order to examine how Google constructs its Western consumer based audience regarding online privacy and free speech.

Catherine A. Dobris, Ph.D., Chair

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## CHAPTER 1

### *Introduction*

“Don’t be evil,” the core of Google’s code of conduct for its employees, has been the rallying cry for the organization since its founding (Google Investor Relations, 2010). Since the late 1990’s, the online search engine has experienced tremendous growth and accolades for its forward thinking ideas on technology and human relevance (Google Milestones, 2010). Throughout its existence, the online search leader expanded into other online services such as e-mail, maps and satellite information, digitizing and indexing the world’s printed books, blog hosting, picture hosting and social media. Google’s goal is to “bring the power of search to previously unexplored areas, and to help people access and use even more of the ever-expanding information in their lives” (Google Philosophy, 2010). Google exists in a 21<sup>st</sup> century marketplace with many competitors, including Yahoo, Microsoft, and AOL Search (Nielson Company, 2010). The search engine marketplace is competitive and Google has responded by re-interpreting how we search for information as well as expanding into additional online service areas such as e-mail, online maps, and social media. Despite Google’s expansion, they still remain a commodity in that their customer base can easily pick any number of competitors with similar products. Loyalty to the Google brand, like any other online service organization, is precarious as the customers can easily access Bing.com or Yahoo.com to utilize similar services. Therefore, Google must pay careful attention to the perceived priorities of its customers or risk abandonment and revenue loss. This relationship between search provider and customer represents Gramsci’s concept of hegemony in that there is a dialectal relationship between organization and audience



(Mumby, 1997). Hegemony is a co-constructed reality where those in power and those who are not collaborate and endorse a set of beliefs. Examining Google's messages from the perspective of censorship and online privacy become interesting messages of hegemonic power as one of the most popular online service providers must co-construct, with its customers, accepted rules of engagement around censorship and privacy. We are able to examine these co-constructed privacy and censorship rules in the dialogue between Google and its Western customer base via press releases discussing this multinational corporation's interactions with the world's most populace country. These rules are important to understand, as they could conceivably be applied to the growing number of online data services provided by the organization. For instance, the messages present in Google's China discourse could serve as a precedent and be applied to the vast indexed book and periodical archive maintained by the organization (Economist, 2009). These rules present in Google's discourse with China can suggest rules for the online privacy of global GIS and map data that is detailed to a person's point of view as well as mobile phone applications capable of unauthorized monitoring of a user's location (Hansell, 2007; Mills, 2007). With the growing reliance on private online data services by both governments and consumers, we need to be cognizant of a company's views on personal data stewardship.

Since this display of dialectic hegemony is delivered to its audience by means of Google's press releases, its official voice, may be viewed productively utilizing both organizational and rhetorical lens. Drawing from both bodies of knowledge enables well rounded analysis of an organization's discourse in the public sphere. Organizational communication theory creates a framework to discuss an organization's common

messages such as issue management, image repair, and crisis communications.

Rhetorical theory allows the critic to examine how these messages are delivered, the organization's exigencies, and enables a critical discourse analysis. Taking a power analyzing critical perspective and using organization communication theory, will potentially reveal expected aspects of this discourse

In this study, I employ Hoffman and Ford's method for examining organizational rhetoric to examine Google's discourse on its business in China. I use this iterative method to explore the messages Google creates intended for its Western user base and discuss nuances in the dialectic practice of hegemony. The remaining sections of this first chapter provide a rationale for this study and artifact description. In my second chapter, I provide a review of the literature. My literature review consists of four sections focused on the theoretical background of organizational rhetoric, identification in organizational communication, frame theory, hegemony, and academic approaches to analyzing press releases. Next, I discuss my rationale for the proposed study before providing a detailed description of my artifacts followed by an explanation of the method I employ in order to examine Google's discourse in China. I conclude with the primary and secondary research questions for this analysis.

### *Rationale for the Study*

My study achieves two broad goals. First, I contribute work that develops organizational rhetoric as its own field of study and leverage its multi-disciplinary approach in order to better understand the motives and positions of an influential American technology company. Organizational rhetoric, particularly Hoffman and Ford's method, embraces the diversity of Communication Studies and acknowledges that

cultural phenomena require a layered evaluation. Second, I critically evaluate Google, a company that promotes an image of altruism. Google has become a household name and preferred online service provider for millions. Such an organization should be subject to a level of scrutiny that examines their deliberate and subtle agenda because of its wide spread use and the personal information it retains.

More research in organizational rhetoric is needed to help further define the field. Academics commonly define organizational rhetoric with respect to other fields of study including organizational communication, rhetoric, or public relations (Meisenbach and McMillan, 2006). This association is expected as a multi-faceted discipline is needed to holistically examine the diverse audiences, goals, communication mediums that define an organization. Organizational rhetoric certainly draws from these areas of research and the combination of these fields creates a comprehensive Communication method.

The second broad goal of my study is based on the hypothesis that Google constructs messages about privacy and censorship to its Western user base using its operations in China. Cheney et al. (2004) claims that, “organizational rhetoric is embedded in or implied in interaction that deals with contingencies, uncertainties, and ambiguities.” These messages produced by Google address uncertainties and ambiguities present in our cultures discussion of privacy and censorship. As one citizen advocacy group stated, “Google’s held itself to be the company that says its motto is, ‘don’t be evil,’ and they also advocate openness for everyone else.... We’re trying to hold them to their own word” (Gross, 2011). My second goal for this analysis is based on the direct observation that Google can access large portions of one’s digital life. Their products are used extensively with 178 million email users and “millions more using Google Maps

and Google Search” (Spring, 2010). Twelve million students and teachers use Google for email and online documents (Google Apps for Education, 2011). The pervasiveness of Google hosted information leads me to posit that perhaps some of their messages with respect to China are directed at a customer base that includes my demographic and are intended to re-assure this base that their digital selves are protected.

These messages are important as Google, the largest online search provider, is in a powerful position. Users of their services view online content through Google’s priorities and biases. Information such as search results, prioritization of suggested results, the availability of map data, omitted pages in Google books, and so on are based on Google’s understanding of its users in order to deliver targeted advertisements as well as the desires of media companies and political states. Google has a precedence of government requested acts of self-censorship (In The Plex). On separate occasions, Google censored disparaging remarks about government officials in Thailand and India on its social media site, Orkut. The company has censored holocaust denier rhetoric in Germany, per explicit German law. Free speech advocates should scrutinize Google’s discourse, in light of this precedence, the pervasiveness of Google’s services, and their high profile struggles to balance free speech and government demands.

With these three considerations, I hypothesize that Google’s China rhetoric could be partially intended for its western existing and potential customer base for its various Internet services. Therefore, my potential research questions are as follows:

- R.1 To what extent is Google using their discourse pertaining to their Chinese business operations to create or suggest acceptable hegemonic rules around disclosing private information to governments as well as scenarios for which

censorship is acceptable? I will investigate what they are suggesting and how they use the language of the press release, an official 'voice' of the organization, to execute these messages.

R.2 How can Frame Theory enhance Hoffman and Ford's method to analyze organizational rhetoric, particularly the organization's discourse intended for external actors?

### *Description of Artifacts*

The core artifacts for this research paper are the actual press releases and official blog postings produced by Google. Research of relevant sections of Google.com identified nine artifacts where the organization mentioned China. These messages are presumably intended for their Western customer base as these press releases are in English, posted on their official English blog, and absent from the organization's official China blog. Where rhetorical analysis of a cultural leader or politician examines speech transcripts and similar artifacts, rhetorical analysis of the corporate entity examines its texts – press releases and its Internet enabled successor, official blog posts.

Google first mentions China to its audience in July of 2005 by declaring it is opening a research and development center in the country. In this first press release, senior management is quoted as saying, “the opening of an R&D center in China will strengthen Google's efforts in delivering the best search experience to our users and partners worldwide” (Google, 2005). This message declares to its audience that Google is selecting the leader of this center a prominent Chinese researcher with extensive work experience at other prominent western tech firms like Apple and Microsoft.

The second artifact included in this analysis was posted by Google on February 15<sup>th</sup>, 2006 begins Google's messaging to its audience that challenges exist. The artifact, published as a press release on the "Official Google Blog" is actually a transcript from a Google vice-president's congressional testimony before the Committee on International Relations of the U.S. House of Representatives. It is this artifact where Google's audience learns of the company's attempt, or justification, around doing business in China and maintaining values of freedom and anti-censorship espoused in its discourse. In this artifact, Google leadership first opens with the statement that challenges exist in its business operations with the country. The executive then defines the organizations three objectives related to its business venture in China. They include satisfying the interests of users, expanding access to information, and being responsive to local conditions (Google, 2006). After elaborating on these three objectives, the congressional testimony concludes with the discussion of Google's three business decisions and two suggested next steps for the private sector and the U.S. government. The technology firm's decisions are to censor its results per the guidelines of the Chinese government, but notify the user when these results are limited. Additionally, Google decided to limit access to a number of its services, including email and blog services from its Chinese user base.

The third artifact is another declaration of collaboration between China and Google. Dated January 4<sup>th</sup>, 2007, the press release contains a description of China Mobile, the other partner in the "cooperation", as well as quotes from the chairmen and leaders of the two organizations espousing the positive goals of the new formed alliance (Google, 2007). Both Wang Jianzhou, chairman of China mobile, and Eric Schmidt,

chairman and CEO of Google, praise the alliance as a benefit to customers by providing a quality search experience using a combination of China Mobile and Google services.

The next officially documented instance where Google invokes China is three years later in January of 2010. Titled, “A New Approach to China,” the press release is the organization’s response to the then recent accusations that the company was infiltrated by Chinese hackers on behalf of the Chinese government (Google, 2010). In this artifact, Google felt compelled to state that the coordinated attack, dubbed Project Aurora by Western technology research firms (Kurtz, 2010), did not focus solely on Google. Rather, the cyber attack was directed at, “Internet, finance, technology, media, and chemical sectors” (Google, 2010). Google also communicated that they had evidence suggesting a primary goal of the cyber attack was to access Google hosted e-mail accounts of Chinese dissidents and human rights advocates. The artifact concludes by declaring the company could potentially cease operations in China.

The fifth document in this analysis, dated March 3, 2010, describes Google’s decision to stop censoring search results for their Chinese users. They describe, at a high level, that they will be routing search engine results for their Chinese users through their Hong Kong site (Google, 2010). They claim they are still committed to research and development as well as a general sales presence.

The sixth artifact included in this analysis is titled, “An Update on China” and continues the message delivered in the March 3<sup>rd</sup> press release. The press release reiterates that the company is currently not censoring search results and that Chinese government officials have indicated their disapproval of said actions. The press release concludes with the statement that, “we aspire to make information available to users

everywhere, including China.... This new approach is consistent without commitment not to self censor and, we believe, with local law” (Google, 2010). This declaration includes hegemonic rules that will be discussed later in this analysis.

The six artifacts described above represent Google’s public discourse with its audience regarding its interactions with China. It represents a relationship in decline over a five year period. The artifacts utilize imagery and rhetorical mechanisms that communicate messages about Google’s priorities and position on wider issues of privacy and censorship. It should be noted that research into Google’s official discourse regarding its China operations included its official China blog, [www.googlechinablog.com.hk](http://www.googlechinablog.com.hk). Using Google’s own translating service, I was able to search for blog entries corresponding to the official English Google blog, <http://googleblog.blogspot.com/>. The lack of discourse regarding the relationship between China and Google on its Hong Kong hosted ‘Google China blog’ suggests that the Hong Kong and Chinese Google user is not the focus of the messages analyzed in this research paper. Were this the case, the press releases published in English would conceivably be published in Mandarin and on Google’s official China blog.

### *Organization of Chapters*

#### Chapter 1

- Introduction
- Rationale for the Study
- Description of Artifacts
- Organization of Chapters

#### Chapter 2 - Literature Review

- The Close Relationship Between Organizational Communication Theory and Rhetoric
- Identification in Organizational Communication
- Analyzing Hegemony
- Analyzing the Press Release



### Chapter 3 - Methodology

- Organizational Rhetoric
- Frame Theory

### Chapter 4 - Analysis

- Rhetorical Situation
- Descriptive Reading Findings
- Evaluative Reading Findings - Identification and Identity Rhetoric
- Pathos and Philanthropy
- Pathos and Shared Values
- Pathos and Praise for the Individual
- Considerations on Frame Theory
- Critical Reading
- Hegemonic Rule - Transparency Becomes Tolerable Alternative to Censorship
- Hegemonic Rule - The Internet Facilitates Free Expression as a Shared Value
- Analyzing the Customer Audience's Co-construction of Hegemonic Rules
- Conclusion

### Chapter 5 - Discussion

- Impact of Future Research on the Field of Organizational Rhetoric
- Future Research - Identification and Identity Theory
- Future Research - Hegemony on a Spectrum
- Pragmatic Comments for the Organization
- For the Consumer
- Limitations

Using Hoffman and Ford's method for examining organizational rhetoric enables me to produce pragmatic observations for an organization operating in an industry with privacy and censorship implications. This approach allows analysis of this phenomenon from the perspective of the digital consumer that is finding more of her or his digital self owned by organizations like Google. The official voice of the organization (i.e., the press release) will be used to explore my research questions, which includes examining the extent in which Google uses their discourse pertaining to their Chinese business operations to create or suggest acceptable hegemonic rules around disclosing private information to governments as well as acceptable censorship. Additionally, this approach will allow exploration of how Frame Theory enhances Hoffman and Ford's method to

analyze organizational rhetoric, particularly the organization's discourse intended for external actors.

This scholarship examines how Google co-creates hegemonic ideas of online privacy and censorship while suggesting that frame theory can enhance an already comprehensive method defined by Hoffman and Ford. With an emphasis on Gramsci's concept of hegemony, this study becomes applied scholarship for two different audiences. Where an evaluative reading of Google's discourse would be of interest to an organization's management, a critical reading with Gramsci's theories on hegemony becomes interesting and useful to citizens cognizant of hegemonic practices in 21<sup>st</sup> century cultural life.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This literature review is divided into four sections. The first section elaborates on organizational rhetoric as a method while the second section examines identification as it pertains to organization communication theory. The third section of the literature review explores frame theory while the fourth section includes a review of a communication-critical perspective on hegemony. The final section discusses a multi-disciplinary review of press release analysis.

#### *The Close Relationship Between Organizational Communication Theory and Rhetoric*

This study utilizes aspects that “more and less” characterize applied rhetorical studies including examining discourse to see how it works, the narrow scope of artifacts and phenomena analyzed, and writing for a blended audience of academic and social change agents (Condit and Bates, 2009). My review of communication research pertaining to organizational theory and rhetoric reveals an interconnection of ideas based on rhetoric and organizational communication theory. First, the two communication fields are complementary. Second, organizational rhetoric exists in a larger framework used to examine the organization.

Organizational communication theory and the study of rhetoric are closely related disciplines. Crable (1990) suggests, “Whatever else they are, organizations are inherently rhetorical; whatever else it is, rhetoric is inherently organizational.” Even outside academia, the close association between organizations and rhetoric is seemingly apparent. Laypersons understand intuitively that organizations are “persuasive enterprises” (Cheney and McMillan, 1990). Organizational communication is an offshoot of rhetoric

as ancient Greeks practiced rhetoric as a means of maintaining their city states, courts, and legislative bodies (Tompkins, 1989). The organization is a representation of a group of individuals and is the foundation of social life. Cheney (1983) suggests, “Necessarily, much of our time is spent by communicating with, within, and for organizations.” This implies that studying the organization is unavoidable and that any use of rhetorical criticism should consider interactions between organizations and the individuals that comprise these organizations.

Hoffman and Ford introduce the concept of organizational rhetoric as, “the strategic use of symbols by organizations to influence thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of audiences important to the operation of the organization” (Hoffman and Ford, 2010). Organizational rhetoric is also thought to be conceptually concerned with situations of uncertainty, situations where the intended audiences for the rhetoric are complex, and examining messages in a broader context that include looking at the success of a campaign rather than an individual advertisement) (Cheney et al., 2004).

This close relationship between Communication studies fields is not just reserved for the study of organizational rhetoric. A larger theoretical framework exists to examine the numerous aspects of the organization. Theorists conceptualize organizational rhetoric as one of four domains of discourse which also includes conversation, narratives, and tropes (Grant, et al., 2004). Discourse analysis is conceptualized from one of two broad approaches. Organizational discourse constitutes a broader concept than organizational rhetoric as discourse can technically be analyzed without its persuasive elements. However, scholars of organizational rhetoric suggest all messages contain some elements of persuasion and that all individuals are a member of an organization (Meisenbach and

McMillan, 2004). This versatility is necessary when analyzing an organization with multi-faceted communication mediums, audiences, and exigencies.

### *Identification in Organizational Communication*

With respect to organizational communication, identification theory can be associated into two broad categories based on the intended audiences; how an organization manages identification with internal employees how it manages its identification with external stakeholders. My research discovers extensive use of the identification theory with respect to internal employees and limited use of identification management concepts intended to for an organization's external audience including customers, share holders, and government officials. This study contributes to a particular realm of identification theory emphasized by Hoffman and Ford. In this section, I will first discuss identification strategies as it is applied to an organization's internal audiences before discussing the use of identification strategies for external audiences.

The Sage Handbook on Organizational Discourse identifies a number of representative studies in organizational rhetoric that are considered foundational applications of the discipline. This short lists includes Cheney's (1983) study of organizational newsletters that demonstrated how the organization uses rhetoric to elicit organizational identity is referenced by Condit (2009), Cheney et al. (2004), and Hoffman and Ford (2010). Boyd (2008) examines sports public relations and the tension present in satisfying community and corporate aspects of building identification with a sports organization and its employees. Research has shown that internal organizational identification strategies can be leveraged by management to successfully manage institutional, employee focused cultural change. Chreim (2002), explains that the process

of dis-identification, or disassociation, followed by a re-identification phase common in successful instances of employee organizational change. Research on internal employee identification has also included interviewing human resources personnel and examining internal organizational printed material amongst high technology firms that build organizational identity using values of innovation, quality, equality, and a balance of individualism and teamwork (Vaughn, 1997). Additional research has studied active volunteers and the impact communication competence of non-profit management has on volunteer identification with the organization. It was found that effectively communicating values and social motives that agree with volunteers has a positive impact on identification (Scott, Craig, Stephens, Keri, 2009). Identification, as it relates to paradox and contradiction, has been studied from an internal perspective. Researchers studied how an organization actively shifted from a customer focused internal employee ethos to a profit making ethos (Whittle, 2008). In these instances, managing identification is important as the increased level of identification and association felt by the employee, with respect to the employer, decreases the chance that the employee will leave the organization. The result is less time and money spent recruiting new employees as well as the disruption created training a new employee to be a value adding participant in the organization.

The work in organizational communication in the realm of identification strategies focusing on external actors (e.g. customers, government officials, and shareholders), is surprisingly small. The literature review, as it pertains to the field of public relations, yields references to identification. Identification, with respect to the organization and the external actor, includes the process of sharing narratives, dominant

principles, and concerns/solutions leads to identification between social movements and their activists (Heath, 1997). These are key characteristics an organization can publicize to potential members (i.e. potential activists) in order to foster positive identification.

The public relations field also relies on Burke's work in identification in that an organization manages a relationship with an external entity by moving from division, to merger, to identification (Heath, 2001). Identification with external actors, in the realm of public relations, is a progression that can be managed by an organization to align the attended audience with the organization's desired ideals and reality.

### *Analyzing Hegemony*

Antonio Gramsci posits that the individual recognizes a sense of being "different" or "apart" as a precursor to recognizing the "great philosophical advance" that is hegemony (Gramsci, 1971). Discussions of discourse and power with respect to the organization can also focus specifically on organizational storytelling, rites and rituals, and everyday organizational talk as units of analysis in the examination of hegemony (Mumby, 2004). While hegemony can manifest itself within internal discourse, it also occurs in the communication between the organization and external actors like customers, shareholders, and government regulators. Hoffman and Ford (2010) recognize the importance of critical thinking in organizational rhetoric by suggesting the practitioner "formulate conclusions about how power is constructed or maintained in the rhetoric." The authors view discussions of ideology, hegemony, corporate voice, and the public as viable theoretical realms an organizational rhetoric theorist might use in his/her critical evaluation.

Hegemony is a complex dialectic phenomenon that is more than suppressing a group's ideas in favor of those in power as it, "implies a willing agreement by people to be governed by principles, rules, and laws, they believe operate in their best interests, even though in actual practice they may not" (Lull, 1995). When confronting this phenomenon, Foucault states the challenge is to detach and re-appropriate the power of truth from instances of hegemony as truth and power are intertwined (Mills, 2003). Organizational rhetorical analysis is one such method that uncovers perspective and context that reveal truth.

Critical work in organizational studies has traditionally been categorized as adhering to either a dominance model or a model of resistance (Mumby, 1997). Mumby suggests a third approach aimed at overcoming this dualism that has emerged in critical organizational studies. Critical organizational theorists can adopt Gramsci's theory of praxis and evaluate the diverse array of mechanisms used to produce/reproduce hegemony without being restricted to Marxist inspired models of dominance or Postmodern resistance models (Mumby, 1997). According to Gramsci, hegemony is a cultural occurrence that is less fixated on power or examples of how power is subverted and more to how hegemony exists (how it is created and maintained) in practice. In the current study, Frame Theory leverages analysis that examines how hegemony is constructed and present in Google's discourse. Specifically, my study examines hegemonic messages involving privacy and censorship.



### *Analyzing the Press Release*

This literature review now focuses on the press release and how it has been analyzed by organizational and communication researchers. The section first discusses the importance of the press release as it relates to the organization followed by a discussion of the different methodological approaches to analyzing press releases. This section concludes with a discussion of questions I will consider during analysis regarding the press release and rhetorical analysis.

The press release is an important communication channel leveraged by organizations. It is one the most routine methods for an organization to access the media, one of its many intended audiences (Sleurs et al., 2003). This media artifact has a diverse set of intended audience members participating in a dialogic communication pattern that, “express[es] and negotiate[s] aspects of an organization’s identity” (Gilpin, 2008). Two organizational identity dimensions can exist in these artifacts: the intended image (how the organization wants to be viewed) and the construed image (the organization thinks others perceive it) (Brown, 2006). The press release can serve as both promotional and informational purposes to “favorably influence readers’ views of a [particular] performance” (Henry, 2008). Therefore, the press release can be viewed as a conduit between the organization and its desired audience. It is a medium that can deliver a complex message intended to inform, persuade, and suggest. Communication scholars approach press releases with varied methodologies. Qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches are employed to analyze these rhetorical artifacts. Press releases can be viewed as components of a larger narrative and therefore examined as part of a larger story (Gilpin, 2008). Studies can apply both qualitative rhetorical analysis

and quantitative study attempting to associate the press release with a measured and related market impact (Henry, 2008). Benoit and Cho (2004) and Wilson-Kratzer (2008) apply a quantitative chi-squared analysis to examine press releases from previous U.S. presidential campaigns. The process of press release construction has also been the subject of scholarly research. Qualitative research, by means of interviews and direct observation, studies how press releases are constructed by internal organizational participants (Sleurs, et al., 2003). Examining how internal actors create press releases suggests what roles within the company construct the press release and uncovers the potential biases of executive leadership.

The communication researcher can pose a number of different questions when examining the press release for persuasive and organizational communication elements. For instance, how might the medium of the press release affect analysis? How do the authors influence the rhetorical analysis? What is the relationship between frames and individual press releases? Does a press release encompass one or multiple frames given that frames are based on perceived categories and relationships in the text (Miller, et al., 1998) or are they based on pre-defined categories (Benoit and Cho, 2004; Benoit and Wilson-Kratzer, 2008). In either case, key words and phrases are identified in the texts and categorized in broader categories. This deconstruction promotes a thorough understanding of how discourse is constructed and their implications.

### **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### *Organizational Rhetoric*

In my study, I will demonstrate that Hoffman and Ford's (2010) method for analyzing organizational rhetoric is comprehensive in nature and invokes a number of different organizational and rhetorical theories. It invokes two generally accepted approaches to organizational discourse analysis, the interpretive and the critical, to better understand an organization's rhetoric. Specifically, the descriptive first phase involves documenting the rhetorical or organizational discourse strategies present. Second, the analysis benefits from a description of the rhetorical situation. Third, the researcher conducts an evaluative reading. An optional critical reading, the fourth step, is conducted if the results of the evaluative reading or the research question benefit from further inspection. Fifth and finally, the results of the analysis guide the essay or organizational decision. Next, I will expand on each process associated with my application of Hoffman and Ford's method.

First, the organizational rhetoric scholar must identify fundamental rhetorical strategies present in the artifacts. Typically, this includes examining the rhetoric for Aristotle's canons of invention, organization, style, delivery, and memory as well as classic fundamental proofs of ethos, pathos, and logos (Hoffman and Ford, 2010). This initial step de-constructs the artifacts into linguistic units of measurement that are the basis of the evaluative and critical readings that occur in subsequent steps. Hoffman and Ford suggest analysis should look for statements claiming safety, effectiveness, or stability that translate into the canon of ethos. Evidence of pathos often materializes as

an emphasis on an existing customer need or the creation of a new need. Logos in organizational rhetoric, as defined by the authors, takes the form of examples and principles accepted by the target audience. These strategies will be operationalized as frames to better understand relationships and trends that may exist in these press releases. Additional discussion on frames can be found in the ‘analyzing press release’ section of the literature review.

The next step is comprised of a thorough analysis of the broader environmental context of the rhetorical act through the rhetorical situation. Present understanding of the rhetorical situation is based on Bitzer’s (1968) formulation that “a rhetorical situation must exist as a necessary condition of rhetorical discourse, just as a question must exist as a necessary condition of an answer.” Bitzer distills the rhetorical situation to its essence when he states his three components of a rhetorical situation, exigence, audience, and constraints “comprise everything relevant in a rhetorical situation” (1968). This idea that rhetorical response is determined by the rhetorical situation was soon challenged by suggesting the rhetor creates the situation (Vatz, 1973). Still a third voice has emerged in this evolving framework adopted by Hoffman and Ford’s method for organizational rhetorical analysis. Consigny (1974) presents a third approach to the rhetorical situation in that the rhetorical situation is characterized by particularities and that the rhetor must familiarize herself with these phenomena in order to create the rhetorical situation. Regardless of the position taken by an analysis, Hoffman and Ford (2010) call for an evaluation of the organization’s website, press release archives, mainstream media sources, trade publications, and primary resources such as employees of the organization. For example, the rhetorical situation for this proposed study will include trade articles on

Google's business in China (Mills, 2010), the U.S. state department (Clinton, 2010), and Wikileaks (2009).

Next, an evaluative reading is conducted to examine the effectiveness of the rhetoric and identify specific characteristics of the organization's rhetoric (Hoffman and Ford, 2010). This step builds on the basic descriptive process previously conducted (identifying rhetorical strategies and examining the rhetorical situation) to speculate the desired audience feelings and thoughts the organization. Hoffman and Ford identify five specific characteristics of rhetorical strategies found in organizational rhetoric: identity rhetoric, issues rhetoric, risk rhetoric, crisis rhetoric, and rhetoric for internal audiences. These characteristics are the core contributions of organizational communication theory to this hybrid method that draws upon rhetorical and organizational theory. Hoffman and Ford suggest selecting two characteristics present in an organization's rhetoric to compare and contrast its characteristics. Tentatively, this proposed study will examine issues rhetoric and identity rhetoric presumably present in Google's rhetoric regarding its operations in China. Examining the identity rhetoric present in this proposed study will leverage Cheney's (1983) influential discussion of identification, a fundamental concept that "points to conceptual and methodological tools for the study of organizational rhetoric." Regarding issues rhetoric, Hoffman and Ford have adopted Crable and Vibbert's (1985) framework for defining and examining the lifecycle of an issue in five stages.

The final step in the analysis of organizational rhetoric using Hoffman and Ford's method finds the researcher conducting a critical reading. In this final phase, critical theory is leveraged to examine hegemony, representations of the public, and examining

constructions of power. Hoffman and Ford (2010) present four considerations that form the foundation for a critical approach to organizational communication: “messages are not neutral, organizational members (leaders and followers) are choice makers, organizational members’ voices have a range of influence, and an organization’s voice is not always identifiable.” This final step is considered optional to the method’s authors.

The process in this analysis first defines the rhetorical situation. Next, I will conduct an evaluative reading that defines frames in terms of an Aristotelian framework and compare the presence and effectiveness of the identification rhetoric present. Using this evaluative analysis and the rhetorical situation, I will conclude with a critical reading of the artifacts. This method is comprehensive in nature and invokes foundational elements of both rhetorical and organizational theory. It is an applied method that is suitable for both academic and non-academic use. The method’s descriptive process isolates rhetorical strategies and emphasizes the rhetorical situation. Coupled with an evaluative reading of the artifacts, a well developed and critical reading can be performed with ample supporting analysis.

### *Frame Theory*

This study utilizes Frames Theory as a means to enhance my analysis of Google’s discourse and aims to demonstrate the versatility in organizational rhetoric as a discipline. Defining Google’s China rhetoric in terms of frames adds structure to the analysis of the cultural impact of an organization’s discourse with its customer audience. Frames are an interpretive tool that assemble various messages in order to simplify otherwise complex cultural phenomena (Hart, 2008). Kuypers (2005) considers frames influential in media discourse when he states, “Facts remain neutral until framed; thus, how the press frames

issue or event will affect public understanding of the issue or event.” Defining frames is “the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation (Entman, 2007).” Frames are the unit of measurement used to explain the construction and aspects of large scale cultural messages and phenomena. Frames typically perform four functions: problem definition, causal analysis, moral judgment, and remedy promotion (Entman, 2007). These four functions guide the audience member toward the organization’s desired call to action. Frame theory identifies three types of frames that fulfill these functions (Hart, 2008). Diagnostic frames are descriptive and define problems and actors. Prognostic frames propose solutions to these problems while motivational frames suggest a call to action in order to rectify identified problems.

Frames are applicable in this organizational discourse setting as the literature suggests there are ubiquitous in their application. Social movements and organizations, such as Birchism, have been evaluated using frame theory. Hart (2008) looks specifically at frame resonance, or “the credibility and salience of collective action frames, accounts for how people become interested in an Social Movement Organization.” Kuypers (2005) examines framing between state side journalists and behind-the-lines journalists and the frames delivered by both entities create a stark contrast between the actual events of the 2003 Iraq war. State side journalists describe the relative ease with which Allied forces enter Baghdad while embedded journalists described the Allied casualties, loss of equipment, and the tenacity of the insurgency.

Paired with Hoffman and Ford’s method, frame theory enables deeper analysis. One advantage is that it categorizes the participants and motivations related to the

discourse by means of this theory. Moreover, frame theory places an emphasis on language construction. This emphasis enriches the analysis, based on Aristotelian language included in my research paper.



## CHAPTER 4

### ANALYSIS

Google's China rhetoric is nuanced and a thorough analysis requires examining its discourse (by means of its spokespeople) from different angles. For instance, the organization couples discussion of security breaches, events that can diminish loyalty and trust with its user audience, with discussions of the positive impact of the Internet on society. Therefore, a rich rhetorical analysis is necessary to confirm and document how this occurs. The fourth chapter of my research details such a layered rhetorical analysis. With regards to Google and their China discourse, I will describe the rhetorical situation, discuss descriptive reading findings as well as evaluative reading comments. I will conclude my analysis by discussing my secondary research question pertaining to frame theory before providing a critical reading.

#### *Rhetorical Situation*

Hoffman and Ford classify rhetorical situations in organizational discourse into one of five categories, each with their own unique considerations. My research questions seek to explore aspects of customer identification and identity building. Therefore, analysis of Google's rhetorical situation should consider the question, "Is Google engaging in identity maintenance, identity building or elements of both?" The exigence present in the rhetoric and the perceived target audience provides a foundation for this chapter to consider identification strategies employed by Google management.

Google is a service based organization offering similar products as Yahoo, Microsoft, and Baidu. The exigence manifests itself as the competitive nature of the online service market. Almost all online services such as Internet search and e-mail are

provided free, which means Google and its competitors must attract and retain customers with other product aspects beyond price. One such product aspect is the provision of security systems as well as the responsible stewardship of customer data. Companies similar to Google must balance the continued demand for search, e-mail, and cloud computing with the increasingly sophisticated strategies of computer hackers. Many threats to personal data exist. In 2011, experts state that the U.S. lost more than fifty million dollars to hackers using an e-mail hacking technique called phishing (RSA, 2011). Hacking groups like Anonymous have emerged within the past two years to publicly target organizations online presence for political or financial gain (Blue, 2010). It is in this volatile environment that serviced based organizations like Google attempt to persuade existing and potential customers that their product is safe and worth using.

Analyzing the rhetorical situation present in Google's rhetoric also suggests certain characteristics organizational decision makers perceive in their audience. Specifically, the rhetorical situation suggests that the intended audience is directed at Western consumers concerned with issues of freedom and self-determination. The descriptive reading in this analysis identified numerous appeals upholding free speech and communicating that they were responsible stewards of private customer data. The press releases in this analysis are published in English and are posted to a ".com" domain, a web address suffix commonly reserved for U.S. websites and U.S. audiences. This suggests that Google's rhetoric is intended for a Western audience, particularly a U.S. audience, and is another indication as to how the organization perceives this group.

This volatile rhetorical situation is complex and includes an intercultural communication discussion within a globalization context. However, a focus on rhetorical

analysis provides extensive opportunity to discover audience members, rhetors, and other actors in the rhetorical situation. Using a rhetorical foundation assists in uncovering motivations in response to the exigence and consideration of the target audience, which richly informs evaluative and critical analysis discussed later.

### *Descriptive Reading Findings*

Analysis began by operationalizing the eleven press releases considered in scope. The press releases were examined for instances of Aristotle's canon of invention and yielded eighty-two distinct observations that included sixteen instances of ethos as a strategy, thirty examples of pathos used as a strategy, and thirteen logos instances. The press release artifacts were also examined occurrences of Aristotle's trends as they occurred throughout the time period. Of note is the use of pathos compared to instances of logos and ethos during the time period in scope. As mentioned earlier, pathos was the most prominent form of invention used in the creation of messages. Its occurrence rose from a single instance in the press release dated July 9, 2005 to seven instances in the third press release, Google's US congressional testimony (published as a press release). Pathos decreased slightly, but maintained a relatively high occurrence rate from the four occurrences in both the "China Mobile, Google Launch Cooperation" and "A New Approach In China" press releases. The overwhelming use of pathos as a strategy suggests that Google calculated that an emotional response was the most effective approach to persuading its audience than establishing credibility by means of the ethos invention or argumentative reasoning via Aristotle's logos invention strategy.

Rhetorical theory considers the audience's emotional state of mind as a significant factor in their comprehension and acceptance of an argument (Johnson, 1988). Based on

my descriptive reading, Google's management appears to have deliberately chose pathos oriented discourse as a strategy to convince their audience that first, Google's business ventures in China were in line with American ideals. Second, they wanted to re-affirm that Google was a responsible steward of their personal data. This approach is interesting in that pathos is considered to be one of Aristotle's more challenging proofs as people do not often want to admit the influence emotions have on one's decision making process (Myers, 2007). However, appeals to emotion are more likely to lead to conviction as opposed to logical appeals which are prone to agreement from the audience (Waddell, 1990). In the rapidly evolving world of online information services like social networks and online search engines, Google management appears to think conviction is a desired audience response. By appealing to their audience's emotions, they appear to be building fervent loyalty to the Google brand and its services

#### *Evaluative Reading Findings - Identification and Identity Rhetoric*

Now, I will provide detailed evaluative analysis of Google's pathos rhetoric used to build a positive identity with its audience. My evaluative reading primarily focuses on identity rhetoric and identification. First, I will provide context on identification theory and identity in Communication Studies. Then, I will discuss the identity building strategies present in Google's discourse.

Identification is a concept first discussed by Kenneth Burke (1969). Identification is an act by an audience member to connect and associate him or herself with the organization. Organizational identity is slightly different than identification in that it is the central perception of the organization projected onto its intended audience (Kuhn, 1997). Hoffman and Ford (2010) summarize the relationship between the two concepts

by stating, “a distinct and attractive identity may encourage audience members to identify with an organization.” Therefore the two concepts, while different, are necessary if an organization is to successfully engage in identity rhetoric. Identity rhetoric and identification represent a co-dependent, fundamental communication process.

Identification aims to unite the speaker with the audience by a shared substance of what they stand for or against as a collective. As Burke (1969) suggests, “Identification is affirmed with earnestness precisely because there is division. Identification is compensatory to division.” He explained that humans seek to identify through communication in order to overcome separation. Humans are “both joined and separate, at once a distinct substance and consubstantial with another,” argued Burke (1969). As an organization selling a commodity, Google engages in identity building by means of its China. Specifically, Google is engaging in identity building rhetoric to associate itself with pro-personal online privacy and pro-free speech policy positions considered favorable to its audience. These favorable, or shared values are the connection between the audience and the organization. Using identity rhetoric that favors free speech and open access to information, the organization hopes to foster positive identification in its audience members.

Analysis of the press releases in scope yielded numerous forms of pathos in an organizational rhetoric setting as defined by Hoffman and Ford including: philanthropy, perpetuating shared values, and praise for individuals (Hoffman and Ford, 2010). These examples of pathos-driven rhetoric help build identity with an organization. The following sections will describe these identity building occurrences in Google’s rhetoric.

*Pathos and Philanthropy*

Google's emotional appeals to philanthropy discuss information sharing with entities perceived to be negatively impacted by China's actions. Their philanthropy is also concerned with free speech issues and the availability of information to the Chinese people. The first philanthropic appeal occurs in the second press release titled, "Google in China." In this artifact, we find Google justifying their entry in to China by posing the question, "How can we provide the greatest access to information to the greatest number of people?" (Appendix 2). The organization asks their audience to consider their entry into China as a philanthropic move motivated by values associating the availability of information with the betterment of society. Four years later and in response to the presumed Chinese state sponsored hacking event, Google again invokes a philanthropic position in their messaging. In the press release titled, "A New Approach to China," Google executives claim that, "We have taken the unusual step of sharing information about these attacks with a broad audience not just because of the security and human rights implications of what we have unearthed, but also because this information goes to the heart of a much bigger global debate about freedom of speech" (Appendix 5). Google's self-described act of sharing "unusual information" may leave the audience with the impression that the organization is acting ethically and setting aside competition by assisting fellow victimized western corporations. These two instances of philanthropic behavior could be used to interpret Google's profit driven business decisions as self-less acts for the greater good of the Chinese people and anyone that holds freedom of speech in high regard. These philanthropic messages can also be interpreted as indirect messages to Google users. When examined from this angle, these

philanthropic oriented messages describe Google as a benevolent company interested in human rights as much as profit.

### *Pathos and Shared Values*

The second emotional appeal leveraged by Google in this chain of events is perpetuating perceived shared values between the organization and the audience. When using this strategy, Hoffman and Ford (2010) suggest that those creating the rhetoric on behalf of the organization do so by creating philanthropic messages similar to their target audience. As mentioned earlier, the audience in this rhetorical situation includes Google's Western user base. Google defines these values the availability of un-censored information, the notion that access to information promotes a free and comfortable life, and transparency. It is noteworthy to examine these shared values because they represent Google's perception its audience values. For instance, Google states they are willing to sacrifice revenue by blocking their blogging and email services in China until they are, "comfortable that we can do so in a manner that respects our users' interests in the privacy of their personal communications" (Appendix 2). This statement to Google's audience impresses the importance of online privacy with respect to a government inquiry about customer data they own. The company is communicating to their customer audience that there is a precedence to oppose sharing the personal or private information of their customer's with state entities.

Google also suggests that transparency and disclosure are an adequate substitute for free speech. In a 2010 press release, Google touts new online tools for their customers that are intended to increase transparency (Appendix 11). These tools allow a user to better understand when a government is requesting information about its citizens,

but does not provide specific detail. Additionally, this press release promotes a tool intended for the Google user to know when a government is interfering with a Google service. Google spokespersons describe Google in a benevolent manner, “services are blocked or filtered, [they] can’t serve [their] users effectively. That’s why [they] act every day to maximize free expression and access to information” (Appendix 11).

Google claims that providing these transparency tools serves as a deterrent to censorship.

This perceived opposition to a state government’s interest in obtaining private personal e-mail correspondence or anonymous online blog posting is a particularly interesting position for Google as the company soon found itself at a February 2006 U.S. Congressional hearing on their business dealings in China. Nowhere in the content of the “Testimony: The Internet In China” artifact, Appendix 3, does the testifying Google Vice President discuss an aversion to sharing customer data with a state government. Rather, the company representative testifying before the Joint House Committee framed the Chinese government’s intervention from the standpoint of offering slow and often unavailable services (Appendix 3). It is of contextual importance to note that this Google executive did take the opportunity to re-iterate their corporate mantra and align themselves with the United States and the general consensus that China does not support free speech. In front of the House of Representatives Special Committee he states, “Many, if not most, of you here know that one of Google’s corporate mantras is “Don’t be evil.” Some of our critics – and even a few of our friends – think that phrase arrogant, or naïve or both. It’s not. It’s an admonition that reminds us to consider the moral and ethical implications of every single business decision we make” (Appendix 3). This statement is



an assurance to their direct audience, the U.S. House of Representatives, as well as their customers that they are ethically aligned with their audience.

Elsewhere, Google perpetuates a shared value of entrepreneurship as a positive means to conduct business. By highlighting a partnership with China Mobile, a pseudo private entity operating in China. Chronologically speaking, in the fourth press release dated January 4<sup>th</sup>, 2007, Google espouses the values of being able to, “help users access the information they need more easily and quickly. This is an important move for China Mobile’s transformation into a mobile information expert” (Appendix 4). Later in this same press release that announces this new partnership, Google representatives employ rhetorical strategy when espousing a sense of partnership, “Our cooperation will not only satisfy our users’ diverse communication needs but also build a new mobile world for Chinese users to communicate freely and live comfortably” (Appendix 4). This is a common ground strategy employed by Google to demonstrate a willingness to work with the Chinese government that is portrayed as partially privatized. This pseudo private status helps present Google’s business relationship with China as a superficial, yet palatable relationship in the eyes of their Western customer audience. Google is acting as an idealistic entrepreneur willing to partner with a communist government in order to serve the Chinese people. With these two statements, Google is portraying themselves as a partner with their Chinese counterpart in the mobile services field. This business goal alignment is particularly interesting when later, in the same press release, when Google implies that their partnership will lead a less restrictive Chinese computing environment. Google representatives declare, “Creating an enhanced mobile experience is a very important focus for Google. Our goal, when working with key industry leaders like China

Mobile, is to continue to develop compelling services that provide users worldwide with access to information directly from their mobile device. The cooperation between China Mobile and Google further enhances the strong innovative attributes of both companies, creating a richer mobile user experience” (Appendix 4). This statement appears to contradict earlier statements in related press releases by suggesting Google’s efforts to operate in China are negatively impacted by the state’s desire to censor free speech and access Google Chinese user’s private e-mail correspondence. Regardless, the goal of this press release is to highlight a presumed shared value with their audience of through a joint private-public partnership perhaps justifying Google’s decision to invest in a country perceived to be at odds with American values.

Google continues constructing the shared value of uncensored access to online information in its fifth press release entitled, “A New Approach to China.” At this point in time, the public is becoming aware that Google has been hacked and that the potential culprits originated in China. This press release communicates Google’s intentions to stop censoring search results for its Chinese customers. The organization couples their response to being digitally infiltrated with the Chinese government’s demands for censorship and takes the stance that they, “have decided [they] are no longer willing to continue censoring [their] results on Google.cn” (Appendix 5). They convey a potential scenario where they would close their offices in China to maintain the shared value that they hold freedom of speech and anti-censorship above profiting in the Chinese market by openly declaring, “We recognize that this may well mean having to shut down Google.cn, and potentially our offices in China” (Appendix 5). If Google’s audience is to take this message at face-value, they ought to be inclined to believe that Google values

free access to information above increased revenue as a result of a sustained business relationship with China.

Months later, the organization discusses their conflict with the Chinese government in a related press release entitled, “Keeping Your Data Safe.” In this press release, Google mentions the recent hacking attacks and infers that their customers are under the same general threat. Google leverages the hacking event to demonstrate the shared value of online privacy. Before detailing specific tasks that can protect their audience when using Google tools, the organization declares, “Nothing is more important to us. Our response to this attack shows that we are dedicated to protecting the businesses and users who have entrusted us with their sensitive email and document information” (Appendix 6). This explicit value appeal is further communicated to Google’s customer audience when they state, “We are telling you this because we are committed to transparency, accountability, and maintaining your trust” (Appendix 6). With this press release, shared values of personal privacy communicated to Google’s audience become matters of trust and transparency.

The final example of pathos, specifically the construction of shared values, occurs in the last press release considered in scope. This instance advocating shared values between the organization and its customer audience summarizes Google’s value. The organization states, “We want as many people in the world as possible to have access to our services, including users in mainland China, yet the Chinese government has been crystal clear throughout our discussions that self-censorship is a non-negotiable legal requirement. We believe this new approach of providing uncensored search in simplified Chinese from Google.com.hk is a sensible solution to the challenges we've faced—it's

entirely legal and will meaningfully increase access to information for people in China” (Appendix 7). The organization re-iterates the desire to provide un-censored search results, or transparent self-censorship as an adequate alternative. Additionally, this press release discusses the organization’s belief that access to information for Chinese Internet users will increase the quality of their lives.

*Pathos and Praise for the Individual*

With this understanding of the shared values present in Google’s discourse, I will now discuss praising individuals as a thread strategy utilized by Google in their discourse on China. Hoffman and Ford (2010) identify praise for individuals as a specific type of pathos that can be employed by an organization. Google employs this strategy twice in its discourse on China. In the fifth press release in scope Google concludes their statement with, “We want to make clear that this move was driven by our executives in the United States, without the knowledge or involvement of our employees in China who have worked incredibly hard to make Google.cn the success it is today” (Appendix 5). In a subsequent press release, Google again states, “Finally, we would like to make clear that all these decisions have been driven and implemented by our executives in the United States, and that none of our employees in China can, or should, be held responsible for them. Despite all the uncertainty and difficulties they have faced since we made our announcement in January, they have continued to focus on serving our Chinese users and customers. We are immensely proud of them” (Appendix 7). For Google, this pathos strategy serves two purposes. First, it serves a practical need in that they seek to minimize any negative repercussions mainland China Google employees might experience from their government as a result of Google’s strategic business

decisions. Google demonstrates their concern for their employees and attempt to define them as dedicated servants to the Chinese people. This strategy might also be employed to suggest inherent benevolence in Google's actions.

The preceding analysis gathered numerous instances of pathos oriented strategies leveraged by Google to communicate the intent and then current status of their business operations in China. Using Hoffman and Ford's methodology for studying organizational rhetoric, I categorized these observations into more detailed groupings including philanthropic rhetoric, perpetuating shared values, and individual praise strategies present in the texts. In addition to informing, this values based discourse can be considered an attempt to build and reinforce the relationship between Google and its Western user base. Using these strategies Google communicates to its audience that it is a sound company that cares about the personal privacy of its customers and ascribes to American ideas of free speech and censorship.

Hoffman and Ford suggest the evaluative reading should consider the organization's effectiveness as it relates to their goals. Analysis suggests Google partially succeeded at associative identity building. That is assuming the organization truly was intending to build a positive association with its intended audience. Google makes note of its philanthropic gestures to its competitors upon being hacked as well as posing numerous philosophical questions around information access and free speech. When delivered in this philanthropic context, Google's business decisions leave the audience with a positive connotation, delivered in a philanthropic context. The organization successfully aligns perceptions of shared values with its audience by substituting transparency for privacy. The organization also wisely attempts to frame its

partnership with the Chinese government as entrepreneurial. Not surprisingly, Google also uses the press release to mention Chinese Google employees twice as hard working, driven individuals with no voice in the company's various defiant decisions. However, there is a telling gap in this attempt by Google to foster identification in its audience, as their products never really embody the ideals purportedly cherished by the company. At least this appears to be true in China, a region of the world that currently prefer to state controlled Internet access. At the request of the government, search requests are filtered. Blogs and e-mail services are not provided to Chinese users and therefore do not promise information exchange between Chinese users. By focusing on the problems in China, Google could be highlighting, for example, the relatively less obtrusive U.S. government. Perhaps Google is taking a negative situation on one side of the world to indirectly highlight the relatively positive situations in the U.S. The inability by Google to provide their services without state intrusion does not contribute to a positive identity, despite the geographic and political separation between the actors in the rhetorical situation and its intended Western audience.

#### *Considerations on Frame Theory*

Now, I will consider my secondary research question that pertains to frame theory. The secondary research question in this study seeks to examine implications leveraging frame theory with respect to Hoffman and Ford's method. First, I will examine how frames add value to the primary method used in this study. Next, I will look at the frames present in Google's China discourse. Finally, I will discuss implications.

Frame theory adds value to Hoffman and Ford's approach to organizational rhetoric by challenging the researcher to consider the linear nature of discourse. Frames

provide a language that speaks to the cause and effect nature of discourse. When using frame theory, analysis looks at the placement of messages, the timeline of events and how people remember those problems (Entman, 2007). Framing Google's discourse with respect to time enables examination of an organization's evolving message as discussed below.

Additionally, frames are intended for macro scale, cultural messages. Frames provide this emphasis in this study as Hoffman and Ford's method does not explicitly emphasize this focus. The scale of Google's China discourse is extremely broad. Google is a multi-national company defining actors and problems about China to a Western English speaking audience. To compound the wide scope of Google's discourse, the company published the press releases on the Internet. The Internet is, for large segments of this planet's population, available with minimal censorship on apolitical topics. These aspects of Google's discourse do suggest that frame theory can provide useful context.

Next, I will examine the frames present in Google's discourse. Hart (2008) defines types of frames usually present in discourse. Of these types of frames present, Google's China rhetoric creates two of these frame types, diagnostic and motivational. Diagnostic frames define actors including the Chinese government, Google, Google employees in China, and the Chinese people. Diagnostic frames also define the problems present. The problems, as perceived by Google, includes trying to uphold ideals of free access to information and interference between Google and its users by the Chinese government. These problems are generally defined by Google as the Chinese state's interference with the quality and availability of their service as well as the hacking event

that saw Google user information and other undisclosed Google information compromised.

Frames are also examined for the function performed (Entman, 2007). Functions discovered during analysis include moral judgment and remedy promotion functions. The moral judgment present in Google's frames is not directed at the Chinese government. Nowhere in the press releases analyzed does Google explicitly chastise Chinese state officials for their actions. Rather, the organization passes moral judgment by defining and re-iterating its intended position on the availability of uncensored information. Google creates an implied suggestion that its values of free speech and its priority is aligned with their consumers and carefully distances itself from the Chinese government.

With this understanding of frame theory and how it interprets Google's discourse, I will finally discuss implications resulting from this brief frame theory analysis. As mentioned above, frame theory added an additional dimension that suggested linearity as a context. By combining this suggestion that a message is delivered to its audience over different points in time, analyzing Google's rhetoric yields a different view of the artifacts. This analysis is summarized as follows:



Frame Component	Google Event	
Diagnostic	Google's business investment and strategic partnership with Chinese pseudo private entity.	Beginning
Moral judgment Problem definition	China's reaction to Google's presence	Middle
Moral judgment Causal	Google adjusts and succumbs Google is hacked	
Remedy promotion Moral judgment Causal	Google provides tools to consumers as a concession	End

Because of this perspective, we are able to see a progression in Google's discourse. There appears to be a clear beginning, middle, and end. Frame theory uncovers Google's China discourse initially assuming assessment qualities. The middle act of this discourse defines the actors and situation. This middle act also begins using moral language to define Google's position on censorship. It is discourse that both supports and opposes censorship. This middle act also finds Google as the self-described victim in a hacking incident and implies that China is to blame. The final act of this discourse is framed as additional moral adjustment as well as suggestions of remedy promotion. This remedy promotion is manifested in the various suggestions of transparency as a tool. Messages to the audience begin in a very modern fashion, praising growth of the organization through new partnerships while the message in the middle act becomes a reaction to China's reaction to Google entering their market by defining the situation and actors, but reserving judgment. Messages also begin to define Google's positions as paragons of free speech. The final act continues this exposition on

upholding free speech but also indicates a concession with states looking to censor their citizens. This progression to the organization's concession of transparency as acceptable opposition to censorship is possible by utilizing frame theory to identify relationships between specific messages and a larger message communicated.

### *Critical Reading*

The final component of my analysis expands upon the impartial assessments of rhetorical effectiveness and description on which I have already elaborated. To compliment my analysis, I will critically examine Google's rhetoric and provide a multi-dimensional analysis representative of Hoffman and Ford's approach examining organizational rhetoric. The evaluative analysis discussed earlier informed my critical observation that hegemonic rules exist in Google's discourse. Hegemony is a multi-party phenomena that traditionally requires dominating actors as well as actors serving as the oppressed. The concept, "implies a willing agreement by people to be governed by principles, rules and laws they believe operate in their best interests, even though in actual practice they may not" (Lull, 1995). Hegemony does not imply total control of those in power and those without. Rather, it suggests a restricted form of strategic influence. When an organization attempts to re-define an issue, members are presumably re-interpreting it to their advantage (Dionisopoulos and Crable, 1988). Google's official response to China's reaction does just that. The organization reacts to China's official sanctions against them as well as the unofficial hacking incident by looking for criteria in the otherwise negative situation and constructing a positive message. These messages would presumably result in no loss of business, positively impacting the company but not necessarily the customer. The company's message contains two hegemonic rules

elaborated upon below: Transparency as a substitute for privacy and the suggestion that the Internet ensures free expression.

*Hegemonic Rule - Transparency Becomes Tolerable Alternative to Censorship*

Google representatives frame themselves as unwilling participants in the construction of this hegemonic rule, but succinctly define the rule with justification when they state, “Free expression is one of our core values. We believe that more information means more choice, more freedom and ultimately more power for the individual. Free expression is, of course, also at the heart of Google’s business. Our products are specifically designed to help people create, communicate, share opinions and find information across the globe. We hope this step toward greater transparency—and these tools—will help in ongoing discussions about the free flow of information” (Appendix 11). This statement, occurring late in the timeline of press releases pertaining to Google’s business in China, is the most direct suggestion that transparency is an adequate substitute for privacy and a deterrent of state censorship. The admission is in response to China’s demands that the organization censor search results and the organization’s choice to accept these demands to continue business in the country. Google’s declaration suggests that some censorship is acceptable, under the condition that people know they are being censored. The press release, “Visualizing Data” (Appendix 11) heralds the idea that people should be empowered to know when their government is censoring information or inquiring about online activity.

Transparency becomes a concession, and may be thought to be ‘the next best thing’ to uncensored information. Frame theory enhances this critical analysis by allowing the critic to examine the progression or evolution of the organization’s message.

In this case, Google's messages regarding China, during the scope of this analysis, evolved from messages of partnership and the freeing power of the Internet, to messages of victimization, to messages around protecting their users by providing 'empowering' transparency tools. The growing and dominant Google user base implies these messages are successful. Google is able to maintain its image association embodied in the hegemonic rule that the Internet is a pure vehicle for free speech and equality while censoring, which I discuss next. It is noteworthy that the organization submits to state requests for information and censorship and successfully executes an associative, identity building rhetorical strategy with customers being monitored and censored. Both processes occur simultaneously. This suggests that, in the public sphere, an organization can maintain contradictory positions on an issue and still build positive relationships with audiences that maintain different priorities.

*Hegemonic Rule - The Internet Facilitates Free Expression as a Shared Value*

This hegemonic rule is based on deductive reasoning. The Internet promotes free expression and equality. Google is an Internet based, Silicon Valley start-up company. Therefore, Google is a company that embodies and promotes these cultural priorities. The organization includes this hegemonic rule and the suggestion that both they and their customers are recipients of this beneficial inherent aspect possessed by the Internet.

For instance, Google spokespersons invoke the Internet when they state, "We aren't happy about what we had to do this week, and we hope that over time everyone in the world will come to enjoy full access to information. But how is that full access most likely to be achieved? We are convinced that the Internet, and its continued development through the efforts of companies like Google, will effectively contribute to openness and

prosperity in the world” (Appendix 2). The organization appears ‘convinced’ that the Internet, with Google as its assistant, will resolve the issue of government censorship. The audience is left with the impression that Google is powerless but will be there to support openness and prosperity, when the Internet sorts itself out. Later, before a US House congressional panel describing the current situation and re-iterating its various positions on the matter, Google executives explain, “Though we had no operations or employees in China, we were able to provide a Chinese-language version of Google.com that, thanks to the global nature of the Internet, could easily be reached by users inside China” (Appendix 3). Again, the Internet is invoked as a concept or entity capable of ensuring open access to information, despite what the Chinese government does or what Google itself can do. Google appears to accept this global reality to ‘easily’ provide a Chinese translated version of Google.com, a site hosted in the United States.

A critical moment in Google’s discourse occurs during its U.S. Congressional testimony. Google executives define an additional value to its otherwise noble core values. Referred to as “Be responsive to local conditions,” this core value is carefully constructed with language that invalidates the prior two tenants that support the identity building shared values the company claims to respect. The rhetorical situation around this particular event is important. That Google is telling this directly to the United States House of Representatives suggests it is prepared to comply with self-censorship, should the government go so far as to declare it. Google omits this message everywhere but in this press release, presumably because it was already a matter of public record, perhaps the motivation to include it in a press release. The impact on the audience’s identification with the organization is minimized. The organization had a well developed identity

strategy using this hegemonic rule that the Internet, by its design and implementation, independently promotes free speech.

*Analyzing the Customer Audience's Co-construction of Hegemonic Rules*

It is important to remember that hegemony implies willingness by a people to be governed by an acceptable set of rules and boundaries (Lull, 1995). To this point, my critical analysis has focused on Google's contribution to these hegemonic rules. As mentioned above, traditional understanding of hegemony requires two entities entering into a relationship/partnership. Little discussion has occurred around how the Google customer contributes to this collaborative act of creating acceptable rules of engagement. In this instance, I chose to gauge the customer audience's validation of these rules in the continued rise in the usage of Google's online products. Certainly, there are layered meanings and nuanced interactions occurring between Google and its audience. Economic and market theory would provide more complex criteria to measure, their outcomes would be similar. Isolating the actors creating these hegemonic rules and their contribution to relevant rules can be problematic. To ensure concise analysis, I will only consider examining the general popularity of Google's commoditized products as measurement. Concise analysis respects brevity as an effective persuasive technique. There are a number of indicators that suggest Google's customer base accepts and therefore gives legitimacy to these hegemonic rules. For example, Google search is the number one search provider in the world and continues to see market growth in the area (Clickthrough Marketing, 2012). Google's social media service, Google+, is experiencing growth despite Facebook's continued dominance in the market (Allen, 2011). Facebook, though, acknowledges Google's overall success by introducing

functionality they label, “The Gmail Killer,” in response to Google’s free email service (Norman, 2010). Despite being a relative late entrant to the mobile phone market, Google’s Android operating system has experienced tremendous growth (Harlley, 2012). Google’s growing dominance in book publishing is also causing some concern in that industry (Cleland, 2011). Google’s entry into Internet based television, online music distribution, local business directories are also indicating acceptance of Google’s practices.

Clearly, Google consumers appear to be pleased with the services the organization provides or else the user would simply use a different and cost free competing product. Competitors exist in nearly all of the markets in which Google competes. This is a rather simple, but effective analysis of consumer behavior. If Google existed as a monopoly, this rationale would be ineffective. The Google customer therefore endorses these hegemonic rules.

### *Conclusion*

Two hegemonic rules were identified during the analysis of Google’s China rhetoric. These rules are leveraged as identify building strategies employed by the organization that promote positive identification with its audience. Fundamental understandings concepts of supply and demand in a competitive market were used to suggest that continuous increase in demand for Google commoditized services suggests validation of these hegemonic rules. Next, I will conclude my rhetorical analysis with comments on potential next steps regarding my analysis of hegemony, identity and identification.

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION

My final chapter is divided into three sections. The first section is focused on future research. The second contains pragmatic sections for the organization and the consumer. The scope of the applied, pragmatic section includes these different audiences based on the inclusive nature of Hoffman and Ford's method for analyzing organizational rhetoric. Finally, I discuss study limitations.

#### *Impact of Future Research on the Field of Organizational Rhetoric*

In 2006, Meisenbach and McMillan observed that the field of organizational rhetoric lacked the "development of cohesive and basic theoretical models." Four years later, the field has a theoretical model in Hoffman and Ford's (2010) approach to the analysis of organizational rhetoric. Hoffman and Ford's method is a discipline spanning concept with roots in Communication theory. As the concept develops and grows in popularity, Communication Studies should continue its contributions in order to be good stewards of an approach with foundations in rhetorical theory and organizational communication theory. Scholars do acknowledge that, "there remains much that organization theorists can learn from communication scholars who emphasize rhetorical analyses in their research" (Silliance and Suddaby, 2008). Communication theory remains influential in the study of organizational rhetoric however management theorists see the benefit of rhetoric and organizational studies and have reconceptualized the study of organizational rhetoric from their perspective (Hartelius, 2008). My potential future research can further explore the nuanced relationship between these fields by juxtaposing



identification and identity theory and consider hegemonic analysis from different perspectives.

*Future Research - Identification and Identity Theory*

The relationship between identification and identity theory is, in some ways, related to hegemony. The relationship between identification and identity building helps explain reflexive/discursive nature of cultural hegemony. It has the characteristics of a apolitical explanation regarding the co-creation of the engagement rules between two entities with a disparate power relationship. Perhaps this is made possible by removing political ideologies as discussion context. In its place, co-construction of acceptable rules becomes observations of identification as behavior trait. Notions of the oppressed are removed from the context. This also applies to identity building strategies as they represent the other defined component. Identity building strategies that discuss persuasion or advertising may be more palatable to a larger audience that framing discourse as oppressive messaging. In both contexts, the subtle relationship that defines hegemony is de-constructed and evaluated. Reconsidering this context to fit a larger audience could promote increased critical awareness regarding large scale, cultural issues.

Using the concept of identification as well as identity theory also promotes a truer representation of hegemony as it asks questions of what and how both, or multiple, parties engage in this social rule building. It respects the multiple perspectives that represent the core of the term; that is to call into meaning the co-constructive nature of the rules by which a culture governs itself. A broader scope for hegemonic analysis provides structured analysis on the effectiveness of public relations campaigns coupled with the cultural analysis as to how and what impactful rules are constructed or altered.

To better understand this, I will first provide another example of hegemony that could be considered with this new perspective. Then, I will discuss its pragmatic importance with respect to the discipline of organizational rhetoric.

Consider the following statement, “The modern day food manufacturing system is the best optimal distribution channel to feed Americans in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.” This speculative hegemonic rule could be viewed as financially beneficial to large, factory food producers, multinational growers, and large scale super market chains. Consumers could be framed from different perspectives. On one side, more consumers have access to inexpensive food. From a different angle, consumers are now consuming food and food products containing artificial ingredients and synthetic preservatives, some of which have not been fully evaluated for their impact on the human body, in order to maintain low prices and increase shelf life. Evaluating this statement from a hegemonic perspective, the critic looks at the power relationship by looking at who benefits and who is negatively impacted from such a statement. The critic examines the rhetorical situation, including actors. The analysis looks for what can be gained or who is negatively impacted and how. As mentioned earlier, analysis adopts of two traditional approaches, a dominance or resistance model (Mumby, 1997). The usual binary nature of critical examination is perpetuated. From a dominance model perspective, the critic might examine advertising, packaging, or government lobbying in order to determine who is in a position of power and how they maintain that position. Resistance model analysis would potentially examine who is being oppressed and look for opportunities where these individuals challenge or avoid this hegemony altogether. Examples could include the act of supporting local farming, the slow food movement, and urban homesteading.

Using identification and identity management as a tandem presents an alternative perspective that adds further depth to discussions of resistance and domination. The identification and identity management approach expands on notions of power and analyzes how this manifests itself. The players and the relationship are looked at holistically and this approach would look at instances of high or low identification and how organizations influence this trait. Specifically, analysis could look at 'liking' brands on Facebook or individuals that collect Coca-Cola memorabilia. These tangible actions suggest a positive identification with the organization or its product that's possessed by the individual. This identification and identity management tandem would also, for example, analyze company promotions like winning prizes in products, advertising strategies that promote low fat content as healthy food while omitting calorie content or sugar, or cross brand promotion for effectiveness. These aspects of organizational discourse could likely be analyzed using either the resistance or dominance models but might lack an emphasis on discovering and understanding the stories of the organization. These stories are quite different from discussions of power as they focus on sales goals, customer retention, and minimizing cost. While these organizational stories may seem detached and trivial within the context of power discussions, they likely include insight into the priorities and frames present in one half of the traditional environment that includes large and influential companies and the individuals impacted by them.

Identification and identity theory build on questions of who and why presented by critical analysis by answering questions of how. It places emphasis on evaluative analysis and considers effectiveness from the organization, often an actor in this power relationship. There are advantages to asking questions these identification and identity

management specific questions of how, primarily because such an analysis is pertinent to a wider audience that might not be inclined to consider reflective, critical questions. Framing this relationship in non-ideological ideas devoid of power discussions still communicates the basic definition of hegemony. This is important as this pragmatic approach suggests to this audience that one's actions and endorsements do have meaning. Those in a position of power might be inclined to understand this impact and relationship using language familiar to them, for example negotiating hegemonic rule as negotiating brand loyalty. This has the potential to increase a sense of interconnectedness with others and overall self-worth. To continue elaborating on this consideration, perhaps this leads to an increased chance that this individual will become more socially or politically engaged in his or her community.

For the applied critical scholar, I believe civic and political engagement is a metric by which critical research could be measured. Teaching hegemony from an organizational rhetorical informed position of identification and identity strategy could become a preferred approach for the applied critical scholar who places a high priority on social or political engagement. It presents power struggles in vernacular consistent with typical goals of an organization. Additionally, this organizational rhetoric informed approach could conceivably raise the interconnectedness in the executive management of an organization. Understanding the existence and behavior of wide scale social rule building could conceivably translate into increased organizational efficiency and thereby reduce costs with the consideration that your customers, potential customers, and competitors co-construct a company's acceptable rules of engagement in the market. Understanding that they help dictate the success of products, features, and services by

raising awareness, executives can set realistic goals and feel compelled to thoroughly research and understand these co-constructors. By doing so, there is potential to successfully negotiate acceptable products, prices, and production practices. Without this successful negotiation, customers become disenfranchised, lower their identification with the organization, and potentially take their business elsewhere. Again there is an opportunity to increase a sense of interconnectedness with these executive leaders leading a superstructure, if even marginally and using a less ideologically framed perspective on hegemony. Perhaps this respect for a large group of people positively impacts these influential individuals, by means of an increased sense of awareness of power struggles and social inequality it spawns.

#### *Future Research - Hegemony on a Spectrum*

Currently, hegemony consists of two general parties and/or motivations, the oppressed and the oppressor. It is interesting and worth continued study around binary thought as hegemony and whether hegemonic theory is ironically impacted by this hegemonic rule. Hegemony, like many other social phenomena appears to be binary in nature including the American two party system, distinct gender rules, the fundamental theory on which all computer electronics are based, foreign policy positions that state, “you’re either with us or you’re against us”, and so on. Hegemony speaks of the oppressor and oppressed and this binary categorization seems to ignore the complexities of 21<sup>st</sup> century (post) modern life.

What if Google were not really the oppressors? What if instead Google was a proxy, of sorts, for the Internet? What if they really were just there to ride the wave of a headless, uncontrollable entity in the Internet? Does the Internet become some enabler or

significant variable in hegemonic analysis? My analysis could have taken a different direction if the Internet, as defined by Google's press releases, was a significant variable in the hegemonic equation my analysis could have taken a rather different direction. To better explain, I will first discuss how the Internet provides the foundation for this potential variable change and its impact before providing an example as to how I could have taken a different approach.

The Internet as a significant proxy between the two parties potentially changes the relationship between the individual and the larger group or organization with which he or she is creating acceptable rules of cultural engagement. The Internet amplifies and increases the reach of the individuals voice with other like minded individuals. This increases the speed with which information, popular opinion and its dissent can be negotiated. Where in the past, traditional paper-based forms of information disbursement filing forms, legislative proceedings, press releases and the like presented a lag creating asynchronous communication. With the Internet and its growing pervasiveness, connected individuals experience near real-time communication, creating a more synchronous dialogue between parties creating hegemonic rules. Advocacy groups, online petitions, and other entities can organize quickly and present a legitimate alternative voice in the construction process.

With these assumptions, that the Internet is a significant variable in the discussion of hegemony and the assumption that the Internet changes our collective conversation, I now elaborate on how my analysis could change. Given these assumptions, hegemony could be considered a social construction communication phenomena. Hegemony could be considered a matter of interpersonal communication between a massive amount of

individuals, or the base, and various institutions, or the superstructures. This digital intimacy and its near real time disclosure of information and discourse creates a similar environment, for example, a group of people interacting in a room. This story telling approach is similar to Mumby's (2004) suggestion that daily discourse can be examined for issues of power. My analysis could then look at stories individuals tell that directly or indirectly invoke hegemony. It could document the untold stories in this ongoing, mundane stream of discourse. Analysis could look to understand how the stories about contributing to as well as submitting to social and cultural rules. Like frame theory, this approach considers the growth and progression of an idea, in this example a hegemonic rule.

#### *Pragmatic Comments for the Organization*

I will now discuss pragmatic considerations for the actors evaluated in my analysis. Due to Hoffman and Ford's comprehensive approach, my applied comments are intended for both the organization and the consumer. From the perspective of the corporate communication manager and best practices he or she can consider, interactions in a new market should include considering the events as a continuous and interconnected program. Early in its China discourse, Google was able to loosely associate related events into cohesive messaging. Throughout the lifecycle of this messaging, Google connected loosely related events into a cohesive message that Google was a good steward of its customer's privacy. By deliberately choosing to include multiple events in its message about consumer privacy, the organization is able to leverage a diverse set of events to build a layered and coherent message. This multi-pronged approach is also an acknowledgment that accepting shifts in perception demand new language on a new stage.

In this example, the perception began as partnership building before shifting to victimization as a result of the hacking incident. The final, or at least the most recent phase of the messaging, involves the organization introducing empowering self-service tools as privacy concessions.

*For the Consumer*

Next, I will briefly discuss lessons learned for the consumer of digital services, Google or otherwise. Consumers should consider the meaning of all events, even the seemingly benign, that are formalized and presented by an organization. Within these seemingly trivial messages, a greater context is needed to often retroactively evaluate a message. At first read, Google's press release on its partnership with China Mobile seems benign and free of nuance. Subsequent press releases suggest this press release has additional meaning meant to persuade its audience. If consumers are concerned about discourse directed at them, they will assume no message is without nuanced meaning.

The second consumer consideration discovered involves the association between transparency and online privacy. This relationship has been discussed earlier in this analysis and should be re-iterated for reinforcement and within the context of consumer awareness. Analyzing Google's China discourse unveiled the idea that the introduction of transparency focused language in online privacy discourse can be used as damage control. It should be considered, self-empowering tools are a deliberate, albeit sometimes last chance effort at the semblance of privacy



*Limitations*

I will conclude this chapter with a discussion on limitations of this study. As this is an analysis between a United States based corporation and the country of China, there are obvious intercultural implications. These implications were respectfully excluded by the careful definition of the analysis in scope but will be discussed in this limitations section.

Including an intercultural aspect could have forced a scope change in intended audience. Bringing a more intercultural perspective to the analysis could have meant including the voice of Internet users, preferably Google users, who are Chinese. The study's analysis would likely rely on the tendencies toward collectivism and individualism in Eastern versus Western culture, respectively. When people are grouped into these large cultural classifications, different priorities emerge.

This fundamental understanding of intercultural communication leads informs the idea that not all Internet savvy Chinese would come to the same conclusion about the hegemonic rule that the Internet facilitates shared values of individualistic free expression with their cultural preference toward collectivism. Perhaps this expanded audience would believe in the collective power of the Internet, but feel less comfortable with the ease in which opposition voices are amplified over potentially more subtle voices of the collective community. Analysis would change in order to document the positions and thoughts on these issues of privacy and censorship by including interviews of Chinese and Taiwanese Google users.

## CONCLUSION

At the beginning of my thesis, I posed research questions that considered Google's use of hegemonic rules to build identification with its China rhetoric. These rules and corresponding rhetorical language used the press release as a vehicle to deliver the company's message to its Western customer audience base. To supplement this primary research question, I examined Google's rhetoric using frame theory. The related questions could be addressed only after I performed descriptive and evaluative readings. As a result, the readings evoked Aristotelian observations regarding the presence of pathos as a persuasive strategy and identification strategy tactics, respectively. The foundation of my analysis used Hoffman and Ford's methodical approach to evaluating organizational rhetoric. I augmented the method by including detailed categorization of Google's rhetoric into Aristotle's invention canons as well as a frame theory perspective. The customized method was extremely effective as it not only enabled the discovery of hegemonic rules, but guided me through a formal identification process of just how these rules manifested in Google's discourse.

Hoffman and Ford's practical method to analyzing and understanding organizational rhetoric is a meta-theory. It is a logical accumulation of the relevant theories from both the realms of organizational communication and traditional rhetorical criticism. Hoffman and Ford's method represents the strength of Communication Studies. When Communication scholars seamlessly integrate different disciplines in an applied setting, well developed and pragmatic discussions and actions materialize. My analysis of Google's China rhetoric would not have been robust without this multi-faceted approach.

Continuing the discussion of multi-dimensional perspectives, Mumby (1997) pondered a third way to examine hegemony. Perhaps he saw the irony in a critical thinking discipline mimicking the same binary thought process present hegemonic thinking. This research presents alternatives by using Hoffman and Ford's approach to organizational rhetoric to provide comprehensive analysis and provides a third person perspective that attempts to bridge benefits and promotes coordination. This analysis produced a suggestion for future research, in adopting a social constructionist approach that also considers yet a different approach to examining hegemony.

It is apparent that truly examining an organization's rhetoric with respect to all its variables, including actors, environments, and motivations, is a complex endeavor. Using Google's rhetoric regarding its business operations in China provides an adequate conduit to conduct a textual analysis, using a robust method made possible by Communication Studies. Many perspectives must be considered in order to understand the messages produced by an organization and the nuanced relationships that develop. Complex situations require complex analysis in order to better understand the world and culture around us.

**Appendix 1**

[http://www.google.com/press/pressrel/rd\\_china.html](http://www.google.com/press/pressrel/rd_china.html)

**Google to Open Research and Development Center in China  
Company Hires Dr. Kai-Fu Lee as Vice President, Engineering and President of Google China**

MOUNTAIN VIEW, Calif. – July 19, 2005 – Google Inc. (NASDAQ: GOOG), developer of the award-winning search engine, today announced that it will open a product research and development center in China, and has hired respected computer scientist and industry pioneer, Dr. Kai-Fu Lee, to lead the operation and serve as President of the company's growing Chinese operations.

The Google China R&D center will open in the third quarter of 2005. China, with its thriving economy and excellent universities, is home to many outstanding computer scientists and engineers. By establishing an R&D center in China, Google is making a strong commitment to attracting and developing Chinese talent, as well as partnering with local universities and institutes. The selection of Dr. Kai-Fu Lee to lead this important operation underscores Google's commitment to building a successful Chinese product research and development center and to expanding its international business operations.

"The opening of an R&D center in China will strengthen Google's efforts in delivering the best search experience to our users and partners worldwide," said Alan Eustace, vice president of Engineering at Google. "Under the leadership of Dr. Lee, with his proven track record of innovation and his passion for technology and research, the Google China R&D center will enable us to develop more innovative products and technologies for millions of users in China and around the world."

"It has always been my goal to make advanced technologies accessible and useful to every user, as well as to be part of the vibrant growth and innovation in China today," said Dr. Kai-Fu Lee. "Joining Google uniquely enables me to pursue both of my passions and I look forward to returning to China to begin this exciting endeavor."

Dr. Lee, who is widely known for his pioneering work in the areas of speech recognition and artificial intelligence, joins Google from Microsoft, where he most recently held the position of corporate vice president, after founding Microsoft Research China in the late 1990s. Prior to joining Microsoft, Dr. Lee was a vice president and general manager at Silicon Graphics Inc. (SGI), responsible for Internet and multimedia software. Lee also spent six years at Apple, serving as vice president of the company's interactive media group, and before that was an assistant professor at Carnegie Mellon University.

"Google has emerged as a very successful leader in technology. Dr. Kai-Fu Lee possesses the perfect combination of technical brilliance, leadership excellence, and business savvy, and he cares deeply about the students and education in China," said Gu Binglin, President of Tsinghua University. "Dr. Lee is the ideal candidate to do great things for Google and for China."

The Google China R&D center is the latest addition to Google's growing number of global engineering offices, which include Tokyo, Japan, Zurich, Switzerland, Bangalore, India, New York, New York, Santa Monica, Calif., Kirkland, Wash. and Mountain View, Calif. As with all of its R&D centers, Google will continue to look for the best talent in China and across Asia to join the Google team.

**About Google Inc.**

Google's innovative search technologies connect millions of people around the world with information every day. Founded in 1998 by Stanford Ph.D. students Larry Page and Sergey Brin, Google today is a top web property in all major global markets. Google's targeted advertising program provides businesses of all sizes with measurable results, while enhancing the overall web experience for users. Google is headquartered in Silicon Valley with offices throughout the Americas, Europe, and Asia. For more information, visit [www.google.com](http://www.google.com).

**Appendix 2**

<http://googleblog.blogspot.com/2006/01/google-in-china.html>

Google In China

1/27/2006 11:58:00 AM

Posted by Andrew McLaughlin, senior policy counsel

Google users in China today struggle with a service that, to be blunt, isn't very good. Google.com appears to be down around 10% of the time. Even when users can reach it, the website is slow, and sometimes produces results that when clicked on, stall out the user's browser. Our Google News service is never available; Google Images is accessible only half the time. At Google we work hard to create a great experience for our users, and the level of service we've been able to provide in China is not something we're proud of.

This problem could only be resolved by creating a local presence, and this week we did so, by launching Google.cn, our website for the People's Republic of China. In order to do so, we have agreed to remove certain sensitive information from our search results. We know that many people are upset about this decision, and frankly, we understand their point of view. This wasn't an easy choice, but in the end, we believe the course of action we've chosen will prove to be the right one.

Launching a Google domain that restricts information in any way isn't a step we took lightly. For several years, we've debated whether entering the Chinese market at this point in history could be consistent with our mission and values. Our executives have spent a lot of time in recent months talking with many people, ranging from those who applaud the Chinese government for its embrace of a market economy and its lifting of 400 million people out of poverty to those who disagree with many of the Chinese government's policies, but who wish the best for China and its people. We ultimately reached our decision by asking ourselves which course would most effectively further Google's mission to organize the world's information and make it universally useful and accessible. Or, put simply: how can we provide the greatest access to information to the greatest number of people?

Filtering our search results clearly compromises our mission. Failing to offer Google search at all to a fifth of the world's population, however, does so far more severely. Whether our critics agree with our decision or not, due to the severe quality problems faced by users trying to access Google.com from within China, this is precisely the choice we believe we faced. By launching Google.cn and making a major ongoing investment in people and infrastructure within China, we intend to change that.

No, we're not going to offer some Google products, such as Gmail or Blogger, on Google.cn until we're comfortable that we can do so in a manner that respects our users' interests in the privacy of their personal communications. And yes, Chinese regulations will require us to remove some sensitive information from our search results. When we do so, we'll disclose this to users, just as we already do in those rare instances where we alter results in order to comply with local laws in France, Germany and the U.S.

Obviously, the situation in China is far different than it is in those other countries; while China has made great strides in the past decades, it remains in many ways closed. We aren't happy about what we had to do this week, and we hope that over time everyone in the world will come to enjoy full access to information. But how is that full access most likely to be achieved? We are convinced that the Internet, and its continued development through the efforts of companies like Google, will effectively contribute to openness and prosperity in the world. Our continued engagement with China is the best (perhaps only) way for Google to help bring the tremendous benefits of universal information access to all our users there.

We're in this for the long haul. In the years to come, we'll be making significant and growing investments in China. Our launch of google.cn, though filtered, is a necessary first step toward achieving a productive presence in a rapidly changing country that will be one of the world's most important and dynamic for decades to come. To some people, a hard compromise may not feel as satisfying as a withdrawal on principle, but we believe it's the best way to work toward the results we all desire.

**Appendix 3**

<http://googleblog.blogspot.com/2006/02/testimony-internet-in-china.html>

**Testimony: The Internet in China**

2/15/2006 09:50:00 AM

Posted by Karen Wickre, Google Blog team

At today's hearing before the Committee on International Relations of the U.S. House of Representatives, we provided the following testimony:

**Testimony of Google Inc. before the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, and the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights, and International Operations**

**Committee on International Relations, United States House of Representatives  
February 15, 2006**

**Elliot Schrage  
Vice President, Global Communications  
and Public Affairs, Google Inc.**

My name is Elliot Schrage and I am the vice president for global communications and public affairs at Google. My role is to help shape and explain the decisions Google makes as a company in its efforts to provide global access to information as quickly, conveniently, usefully, and comprehensively as possible.

I'm here today to answer any and all questions you might have about how we are attempting to do business in China. I certainly don't – my colleagues certainly don't – expect everyone to agree with our decision to launch a new service inside this challenging, complex, promising market. I hope my testimony will help explain how we came to our decision, what we're seeking to accomplish, and how we're seeking to accomplish it.

**Introduction**

At the outset, I want to acknowledge what I hope is obvious: Figuring out how to deal with China has been a difficult exercise for Google. The requirements of doing business in China include self-censorship – something that runs counter to Google's most basic values and commitments as a company. Despite that, we made a decision to launch a new product for China – Google.cn – that respects the content restrictions imposed by Chinese laws and regulations. Understandably, many are puzzled or upset by our decision. But our decision was based on a judgment that Google.cn will make a meaningful – though imperfect – contribution to the overall expansion of access to information in China.

Until a few weeks ago, Google has been serving Chinese Internet users the same way we serve all Internet users worldwide since the company was founded in 1999. Though we had no operations or employees in China, we were able to provide a Chinese-language version of Google.com that, thanks to the global nature of the Internet, could easily be reached by users inside China. In 2002, we started to learn that Google was sporadically



unavailable to Chinese users. In the fall of that year, we awoke one morning to emails from Google users in China informing us that our service was completely unavailable. We faced a choice at that point: hold fast to our commitment to free speech (and risk a long-term cut-off from our Chinese users), or compromise our principles by entering the Chinese market directly and subjecting ourselves to Chinese laws and regulations. We stood by our principles, which turned out to be a good choice, as access to Google.com was largely restored within about two weeks.

However, we soon discovered new problems. Many queries, especially politically sensitive queries, were not making it through to Google's servers. And access became often slow and unreliable, meaning that our service in China was not something we felt proud of. Even though we weren't doing any self-censorship, our results were being filtered anyway, and our service was being actively degraded on top of that. Indeed, at some times users were even being redirected to local Chinese search engines. Nevertheless, we continued to offer our service from outside China while other Internet companies were entering China and building operations there.

A bit more than a year ago, we decided to take a serious look at China and re-assess whether our approach there was the best strategy. We spent a lot of time talking to Chinese Internet experts and users, scholars and academics inside and outside China, respected "China hands," human rights groups and activists, government officials, business leaders, as well as our own Chinese employees. From those discussions, we reached the conclusion that perhaps we had been taking the wrong path. Our search results were being filtered; our service was being crippled; our users were flocking to local Chinese alternatives; and, ultimately, Chinese Internet users had less access to information than they would have had.

Let me dig a bit deeper into the analytic framework we developed for China. Google's objective is to make the world's information accessible to everyone, everywhere, all the time. It is a mission that expresses two fundamental commitments:

- (a) First, our business commitment to satisfy the **interests of users**, and by doing so to build a leading company in a highly competitive industry; and
- (b) Second, our policy conviction that **expanding access** to information to anyone who wants it will make our world a better, more informed, and freer place.

Some governments impose restrictions that make our mission difficult to achieve, and this is what we have encountered in China. In such a situation, we have to add to the balance a third fundamental commitment:

- (c) Be responsive to **local conditions**.

So with that framework in mind, we decided to try a different path, a path rooted in the very pragmatic calculation that we could provide more access to more information to more Chinese citizens more reliably by offering a new service – Google.cn – that, though

subject to Chinese self-censorship requirements, would have some significant advantages. Above all, it would be faster and more reliable, and would provide more and better search results for all but a handful of politically sensitive subjects. We also developed several elements that distinguish our service in China, including:

- Disclosure to users -- We will give notification to Chinese users whenever search results have been removed.
- Protection of user privacy -- We will not maintain on Chinese soil any services, like email, that involve personal or confidential data. This means that we will not, for example, host Gmail or Blogger, our email and blogging tools, in China.
- Continued availability of Google.com -- We will not terminate the availability of our unfiltered Chinese-language Google.com service.

Many, if not most, of you here know that one of Google's corporate mantras is "Don't be evil." Some of our critics – and even a few of our friends – think that phrase arrogant, or naïve or both. It's not. It's an admonition that reminds us to consider the moral and ethical implications of every single business decision we make.

We believe that our current approach to China is consistent with this mantra. Our hope is that our mix of measures, though far from our ideal, would accomplish more for Chinese citizens' access to information than the alternative. We don't pretend that this is the single "right" answer to the dilemma faced by information companies in China, but rather a reasonable approach that seems likely to bring our users greater access to more information than any other search engine in China. And by serving our users better, we hope it will be good for our business, too, over the long run.

To be clear, these are not easy, black-and-white issues. As our co-founder Sergey Brin has said, we understand and respect the perspective of people who disagree with our decision; indeed, we recognize that the opposing point of view is a reasonable one to hold. Nonetheless, in a situation where there are only imperfect options, we think we have made a reasonable choice. It's a choice that has generated enormous attention – vastly more, indeed, than our earlier decisions not to cross the line of self-censorship. We hope that the ensuing dialogue will lead to productive collaboration among businesses and governments to further our shared aim of expanding access to information worldwide.

We think we have made a reasonable decision, though we cannot be sure it will ultimately be proven to be the best one. With the announcement of our launch of Google.cn, we've begun a process that we hope will better serve our Chinese users. We also hope that we will be able to add new services, if circumstances permit. We are also aware that, for any number of reasons, this may not come to pass. Looking ahead, we will carefully monitor conditions in China, including new laws and other restrictions on our services. If we determine that we are unable to achieve the objectives I've outlined above, we will not hesitate to reconsider our approach to China.

In the remainder of my written testimony below, I set forth the situation in China as we see it, the debate over the options we confronted, the substance of what Google has decided to do there, the reasoning behind that decision, and some ideas for both industry and governmental actions that could make a useful contribution to the objective of

expanding access to information in every corner of the globe.

### **The Big Picture: The Internet is Transforming China**

The backdrop to Google's decision to launch Google.cn is the explosive growth of the Internet in China. To put it simply, the Internet is transforming China for the better. And the weight of the evidence suggests that the Internet is accelerating and deepening these positive trends, even in an imperfect environment.

Viewed broadly, information and communication technology – including the Internet, email, instant messaging, web logs, bulletin boards, podcasts, peer-to-peer applications, streaming audio and video, mobile telephones, SMS text messages, MMS photo-sharing, and so on – has brought Chinese citizens a greater ability to read, discuss, publish and communicate about a wider range of topics, events, and issues than ever before.

There are currently more than 105 million Internet users in China.<sup>1</sup> Nearly half of them have access to broadband connections – an increase of 41% since 2003.<sup>2</sup> Even so, Internet deployment in China is at a very early stage, reaching only about 8% of the population.<sup>3</sup> Among those under 24 years of age, more than 80% are Internet users.<sup>4</sup> By 2010, China will have more than 250 million Internet users.<sup>5</sup> And already, there are more than 350 million mobile phones, a number growing by roughly 57 million annually.<sup>6</sup>

A recent and well-respected study by researchers at the Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS) documents some interesting, and perhaps surprising, findings about the views of Chinese Internet users:<sup>7</sup>

- Most Chinese Internet users believe that the Internet is changing politics in China. Internet users tend to agree that it will increase political transparency and expand discourse: 63% believe that citizens will learn more about politics by going online, 54% of users believe the Internet provides more opportunities for criticizing the government, and 45% believe that the Internet provides more opportunities to express political views.
- Large majorities of Chinese believe that certain kinds of Internet content, including pornography and violence, should be controlled. However, only 7.6% believe that political content on the Internet should be controlled.
- By a 10:1 margin, Chinese Internet users believe that the Internet will make the world a better, rather than worse, place.

Based on its results, the CASS Internet Survey concludes that “the political impact of the Internet is more significant than it is in other countries. The impact can be seen not only in the relationship between government and citizens but also among people who share similar political interests. Thus, we can predict that as Internet becomes more popular in China, the impact on politics will be stronger.”<sup>8</sup>

### **The Problem: Access to Google in China is Slow and Unreliable**

Since 2000, Google has been offering a Chinese-language version of Google.com, designed to make Google just as easy, intuitive, and useful to Chinese-speaking users

worldwide as it is for speakers of English. Within China, however, Google.com has proven to be both slow and unreliable. Indeed, Google's users in China struggle with a service that is often unavailable. According to our measurements, Google.com appears to be unreachable around 10% of the time. Even when Chinese users can get to Google.com, the website is slow (sometimes painfully so, and nearly always slower than our local competitors), and sometimes produces results that, when clicked on, stall out the user's browser. The net result is a bad user experience for those in China.

The cause of the slowness and unreliability appears to be, in large measure, the extensive filtering performed by China's licensed Internet Service Providers (ISPs). China's laws, regulations, and policies against illegal information apply not only to the Internet content providers, but also to the ISPs. China has nine licensed international gateway data carriers, and many hundreds of smaller local ISPs. Each ISP is legally obligated to implement its own filtering mechanisms, leading to diverse and sometimes inconsistent outcomes across the network at any given moment. For example, some of Google's services appear to be unavailable to Chinese users nearly always, including Google News, the Google cache (i.e., our service that maintains stored copies of web pages), and Blogspot (the site that hosts weblogs of Blogger customers). Other services, such as Google Image Search, can be reached about half the time. Still others, such as Google.com, Froogle, and Google Maps, are unavailable only around 10% of the time.

Even when Google is reachable, the data indicates that we are almost always slower than our local competitors. Third-party measurements of latency (meaning the delay that a user experiences when trying to download a web page) suggest that the average total time to download a Google webpage is more than seven times slower than for Baidu, the leading Chinese search engine.

Users trying to get to Google will have different experiences at different times of day, and from different points on the Chinese network. For example, access to Google appears to be speedier and more reliable in Beijing than in Shanghai, and generally better in the largest cities compared to smaller towns, suburbs, and villages.

Based on our analysis of the available data, we believe that the filtering performed by the international gateway ISPs is far more disruptive to our services than that performed by smaller local ISPs. Because Google's servers have, to date, been located exclusively outside China, all traffic to and from Google must traverse at least one of China's international gateway ISPs. Accordingly, Google's access problems can only be solved by creating a local presence inside China.

Operating without a local presence, Google's slowness and unreliability appears to have been a major – perhaps the major – factor behind our steadily declining market share. According to third-party estimates, Baidu has gone from 2.5% of the search market in 2003 to 46% in 2005, while Google has dropped to below 30% (and falling).<sup>9</sup> The statistics are even more dire among the college-age young, who use Baidu even more, and Google less, than their elders. Part of this has been due to improvements in Baidu's services and a major marketing campaign (funded by the proceeds of its successful IPO

in the US), but the leading cause seems to be the Chinese users' annoyance at the persistent slowness and unreliability of Google.

### **Google's Calibrated Approach**

In light of the chronic access problems that have plagued Google in China, Google's management set out more than a year ago to study and learn about China, to understand and assess our options, to debate their relative merits, and to make a decision that properly weighs both business and ethical considerations.

There is no question that, as a matter of business, we want to be active in China. It is a huge, rapidly growing, and enormously important market, and our key competitors are already there. It would be disingenuous to say that we don't care about that because, of course, we do. We are a business with stockholders, and we want to prosper and grow in a highly competitive world.

At the same time, acting ethically is a core value for our company, and an integral part of our business culture. Our slowness and unreliability has meant that Google is failing in its mission to make the world's information accessible and useful to Chinese Internet users. Only a local presence would allow Google to resolve most, if not all, of the latency and access issues. But to have a local presence in China would require Google to get an Internet Content Provider license, triggering a set of regulatory requirements to filter and remove links to content that is considered illegal in China.

So we were confronted with two basic options – [1] stay out of China, or [2] establish a local presence in China – either of which would entail some degree of inconsistency with our corporate mission. In assessing these options, we looked at three fundamental Google commitments:

- (a) Satisfy the **interests of users**,
- (b) **Expand access** to information, and
- (c) Be responsive to **local conditions**.

The strongest argument for staying out of China is simply that Google should not cross the line of self-censorship, and should not be actively complicit in imposing any limits on access to information. To be clear, the persistence of severe access problems amid fierce competition from local alternatives suggests that the consequence of this approach would be the steady shrinking of Google's market share ever closer to zero. Without meaningful access to Google, Chinese users would rely exclusively on Internet search engines that may lack Google's fundamental commitment to maximizing access to information – and, of course, miss out on the many features, capabilities, and tools that only Google provides.

On the other hand, we believe that even within the local legal and regulatory constraints that exist in China, a speedy, reliable Google.cn service will increase overall access to information for Chinese Internet users. We noted, for example, that the vast majority of

Internet searches in China are for local Chinese content, such as local news, local businesses, weather, games and entertainment, travel information, blogs, and so forth. Even for political discussions, Chinese users are much more interested in local Chinese Internet sites and sources than from abroad. Indeed, for Google web search, we estimate that fewer than 2% of all search queries in China would result in pages from which search results would be unavailable due to filtering.

Crucial to this analysis is the fact that our new Google.cn website is an **additional** service, **not a replacement** for Google.com in China. The Chinese-language Google.com will remain open, unfiltered and available to all Internet users worldwide.

At the same time, the speed and technical excellence of Google.cn means that more information will be more easily searchable than ever before. Even with content restrictions, a fast and reliable Google.cn is more likely to expand Chinese users' access to information.

We also took steps that went beyond a simple mathematical calculus about expanding access to information. First, we recognize that users are also interested in transparency and honesty when information has been withheld. Second, users are concerned about the privacy, security, and confidentiality of their personal information. Finally, users want to have competition and choices, so that the market players have a strong incentive to improve their offerings over time.

**Transparency.** Users have an interest in knowing when potentially relevant information has been removed from their search results. Google's experience dealing with content restrictions in other countries provided some crucial insight as to how we might operate Google.cn in a way that would give modest but unprecedented disclosure to Chinese Internet users.

Google has developed a consistent global policy and technical mechanism for handling content deemed illegal by a host government. Several of the countries in which we operate have laws that regulate content. In all of these countries, Google responds similarly. First, when we get a court order or legal notice in a foreign country where we operate, we remove the illegal content only from the relevant national version of the Google search engine (such as Google.fr for France). Second, we provide a clear notice to users on every search results page from which one or more links has been removed. The disclosure allows users to hold their legal systems accountable.

This response allows Google to be respectful of local content restrictions while providing meaningful disclosure to users and strictly limiting the impact to the relevant Google website for that country. For China, this model provided some useful guidance for how we could handle content restrictions on Google.cn in way that would afford some disclosure when links have been removed.

**Privacy and Security.** Google is committed to protecting consumer privacy and confidentiality. Prior to the launch of Google.cn, Google conducted intensive reviews of

each of our services to assess the implications of offering it directly in China. We are always conscious of the fact that data may be subject to the jurisdiction of the country where it is physically stored. With that in mind, we concluded that, at least initially, only a handful of search engine services would be hosted in China.

We will not store data somewhere unless we are confident that we can meet our expectations for the privacy and security of users' sensitive information. As a practical matter, meeting this user interest means that we have no plans to host Gmail, Blogger, and a range of other such services in China.

**Competition and Choice.** Internet users in China, like people everywhere, want competition and choices in the marketplace. Without competition, companies have little incentive to improve their services, advance the state of the art, or take innovative risks. If Google were to stay out of China, it would remove powerful pressure on the local players in the search engine market to create ever-more-powerful tools for accessing and organizing information. Google's withdrawal from China would cede the terrain to the local Internet portals that may not have the same commitment, or feel the competitive pressure, to innovate in the interests of their users.

### **The Decision: What Google Is Doing in China**

The deliberative process and analysis outlined above led to the following decisions.

#### **(1) Launch Google.cn.**

We have recently launched Google.cn, a version of Google's search engine that we will filter in response to Chinese laws and regulations on illegal content. This website will supplement, and not replace, the existing, unfiltered Chinese-language interface on Google.com. That website will remain open and unfiltered for Chinese-speaking users worldwide.

#### **(2) Disclosure of Filtering**

Google.cn presents to users a clear notification whenever links have been removed from our search results in response to local laws and regulations in China. We view this a step toward greater transparency that no other company has done before.

#### **(3) Limit Services**

Google.cn today includes basic Google search services, together with a local business information and map service. Other products – such as Gmail and Blogger, our blog service – that involve personal and confidential information will be introduced only when we are comfortable that we can provide them in a way that protects the privacy and security of users' information.

### **Next Steps: Voluntary Industry Action**

Google supports the idea of Internet industry action to define common principles to guide the practices of technology firms in countries that restrict access to information. Together

with colleagues at other leading Internet companies, we are actively exploring the potential for guidelines that would apply for all countries in which Internet content is subjected to governmental restrictions. Such guidelines might encompass, for example, disclosure to users, protections for user data, and periodic reporting about governmental restrictions and the measures taken in response to them.

### **Next Steps: U.S. Government Action**

The United States government has a role to play in contributing to the global expansion of free expression. For example, the U.S. Departments of State and Commerce and the office of the U.S. Trade Representative should continue to make censorship a central element of our bilateral and multilateral agendas.

Moreover, the U.S. government should seek to bolster the global reach and impact of our Internet information industry by placing obstacles to its growth at the top of our trade agenda. At the risk of oversimplification, the U.S. should treat censorship as a barrier to trade, and raise that issue in appropriate fora.

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**1** “China Online Search Market Survey Report,” China Network Information Center (CNNIC) (August 2005) (“CNNIC Search Engine Study”).

**2** Guo Liang, “Surveying Internet Usage and Impact in Five Chinese Cities,” Research Center for Social Development, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (November 2005) (“the CASS Internet Survey”), at iii. The CASS Internet Survey is a statistically rigorous survey of Internet users in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Chengdu, and Changsha.

**3** Id.

**4** Id., at iv.

**5** “15th Statistic Survey Report on the Internet Development in China,” China Network Information Center (CNNIC) (2005).

**6** From statistics published by China’s Ministry of Information Industry.

**7** CASS Internet Survey., at iv-ix, 93-100.

**8** Id. at 100.

**9** CNNIC Search Engine Study.



## Appendix 4

[http://www.google.com/intl/en/press/annc/mobile\\_zh.html](http://www.google.com/intl/en/press/annc/mobile_zh.html)

### **China Mobile, Google Launch Cooperation: Creating Leading Mobile Search Service in China**

**BEIJING, January 4, 2007** – China Mobile, the world's largest mobile telecommunications carrier, and Google, the world's largest search engine, announced today a cooperation to provide mobile and Internet search services in China. Together, they will provide Chinese Mobile users with world-class, high-quality mobile search products and services that will make it easier than ever before to find relevant content on the cellular phone.

Google will provide its world class search engine technology to China Mobile to enable "mobile search" on China Mobile's Monternet WAP portal, and China Mobile users will be able to easily search Monternet and its vast content, including sports and entertainment news, ringtones, games, images, videos and novels. Users will be able to access the service via a search box or search link on Monternet's homepage, or through a dedicated mobile search homepage on Monternet. The first-phase service has been partially put into trial operation in December, 2006 and will be launched broadly in the early part of 2007.

Wang Jianzhou, chairman of China Mobile, said: "We are delighted to be providing China Mobile users with mobile and internet search services via our cooperation with Google. Mobile search will help users access the information they need more easily and quickly. This is an important move for China Mobile's transformation into a mobile information expert. China Mobile will unite the industry chain, rapidly enhancing the whole industry's value. Our cooperation will not only satisfy our users' diverse communication needs but also build a new mobile world for Chinese users to communicate freely and live comfortably. As the leader of global internet search services, Google has a strong innovative capability. China Mobile and Google are working hand-in-hand and combining our strengths to improve the development of wireless, value-added services in China."

Eric Schmidt, Chairman of the Executive Committee and Chief Executive Officer of Google, said: "Creating an enhanced mobile experience is a very important focus for Google. Our goal, when working with key industry leaders like China Mobile, is to continue to develop compelling services that provide users worldwide with access to information directly from their mobile device. The cooperation between China Mobile and Google further enhances the strong innovative attributes of both companies, creating a richer mobile user experience."

### **About Google**

Google's innovative search technologies connect millions of people around the world with information every day. Founded in 1998 by Stanford Ph.D. students Larry Page and Sergey Brin, Google today is a top web property in all major global markets. Google's targeted advertising program provides businesses of all sizes with measurable results, while enhancing the overall web experience for users. Google is headquartered in Silicon

Valley with offices throughout the Americas, Europe and Asia. For more information, visit [www.google.com](http://www.google.com).

**About China Mobile**

Established on April 20th, 2000, China Mobile is one of the largest Chinese companies listed in overseas markets. It has the largest market capitalization among all global telecommunications operators. China Mobile's network coverage and subscriber volume rank number one in the world, has been in the rank of Fortune 500 for six continuous years, the latest rank at number 202. China Mobile is not only a profitable company, financially sound and able to generate stable cash flow, but it is also a continuously growing company with high development potential and a strong vision. Facing the future, China Mobile will adhere to its core value of "Responsibility Makes Perfection", improve its competitiveness by implementing the concept of scientific development, and strive to become the mobile information expert and a creator of world class quality.

## Appendix 5

<http://googleblog.blogspot.com/2010/01/new-approach-to-china.html>

A new approach to China

1/12/2010 03:00:00 PM

Like many other well-known organizations, we face cyber attacks of varying degrees on a regular basis. In mid-December, we detected a highly sophisticated and targeted attack on our corporate infrastructure originating from China that resulted in the theft of intellectual property from Google. However, it soon became clear that what at first appeared to be solely a security incident--albeit a significant one--was something quite different.

First, this attack was not just on Google. As part of our investigation we have discovered that at least twenty other large companies from a wide range of businesses--including the Internet, finance, technology, media and chemical sectors--have been similarly targeted. We are currently in the process of notifying those companies, and we are also working with the relevant U.S. authorities.

Second, we have evidence to suggest that a primary goal of the attackers was accessing the Gmail accounts of Chinese human rights activists. Based on our investigation to date we believe their attack did not achieve that objective. Only two Gmail accounts appear to have been accessed, and that activity was limited to account information (such as the date the account was created) and subject line, rather than the content of emails themselves.

Third, as part of this investigation but independent of the attack on Google, we have discovered that the accounts of dozens of U.S.-, China- and Europe-based Gmail users who are advocates of human rights in China appear to have been routinely accessed by third parties. These accounts have not been accessed through any security breach at Google, but most likely via phishing scams or malware placed on the users' computers.

We have already used information gained from this attack to make infrastructure and architectural improvements that enhance security for Google and for our users. In terms of individual users, we would advise people to deploy reputable anti-virus and anti-spyware programs on their computers, to install patches for their operating systems and to update their web browsers. Always be cautious when clicking on links appearing in instant messages and emails, or when asked to share personal information like passwords online. You can read more [here](#) about our cyber-security recommendations. People wanting to learn more about these kinds of attacks can read this **Report to Congress (PDF)** by the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (see p. 163-), as well as a related **analysis (PDF)** prepared for the Commission, Nart Villeneuve's **blog** and this **presentation** on the GhostNet spying incident.

We have taken the unusual step of sharing information about these attacks with a broad audience not just because of the security and human rights implications of what we have unearthed, but also because this information goes to the heart of a much bigger global debate about freedom of speech. In the last two decades, China's economic reform programs and its citizens' entrepreneurial flair have lifted hundreds of millions of Chinese

people out of poverty. Indeed, this great nation is at the heart of much economic progress and development in the world today.

We launched Google.cn in January 2006 in the belief that the benefits of increased access to information for people in China and a more open Internet outweighed our discomfort in agreeing to censor some results. At the time we made clear that "we will carefully monitor conditions in China, including new laws and other restrictions on our services. If we determine that we are unable to achieve the objectives outlined we will not hesitate to reconsider our approach to China."

These attacks and the surveillance they have uncovered--combined with the attempts over the past year to further limit free speech on the web--have led us to conclude that we should review the feasibility of our business operations in China. We have decided we are no longer willing to continue censoring our results on Google.cn, and so over the next few weeks we will be discussing with the Chinese government the basis on which we could operate an unfiltered search engine within the law, if at all. We recognize that this may well mean having to shut down Google.cn, and potentially our offices in China.

The decision to review our business operations in China has been incredibly hard, and we know that it will have potentially far-reaching consequences. We want to make clear that this move was driven by our executives in the United States, without the knowledge or involvement of our employees in China who have worked incredibly hard to make Google.cn the success it is today. We are committed to working responsibly to resolve the very difficult issues raised.

***Update:*** Added a link to another referenced report in paragraph 5.

Posted by David Drummond, SVP, Corporate Development and Chief Legal Officer

**Appendix 6**

<http://googleenterprise.blogspot.com/2010/01/keeping-your-data-safe.html>

**Keeping your data safe**

TUESDAY, JANUARY 12, 2010

Many corporations and consumers regularly come under cyber attack, and Google is no exception. We recently detected a cyber attack targeting our infrastructure and that of at least 20 other publicly listed companies. This incident was particularly notable for its high degree of sophistication. We believe Google Apps and related customer data were not affected by this incident. Please read more about our public response on the Official Google Blog.

This attack may understandably raise some questions, so we wanted to take this opportunity to share some additional information and assure you that Google is introducing additional security measures to help ensure the safety of your data.

This was not an assault on cloud computing. It was an attack on the technology infrastructure of major corporations in sectors as diverse as finance, technology, media, and chemical. The route the attackers used was malicious software used to infect personal computers. Any computer connected to the Internet can fall victim to such attacks. While some intellectual property on our corporate network was compromised, we believe our customer cloud-based data remains secure.

While any company can be subject to such an attack, those who use our cloud services benefit from our data security capabilities. At Google, we invest massive amounts of time and money in security. Nothing is more important to us. Our response to this attack shows that we are dedicated to protecting the businesses and users who have entrusted us with their sensitive email and document information. We are telling you this because we are committed to transparency, accountability, and maintaining your trust.

*Posted by Dave Girouard, President, Google Enterprise*

## Appendix 7

<http://googleblog.blogspot.com/2010/03/new-approach-to-china-update.html>

A new approach to China: an update

3/22/2010 12:03:00 PM

On January 12, we announced on this blog that Google and more than twenty other U.S. companies had been the victims of a sophisticated cyber attack originating from China, and that during our investigation into these attacks we had uncovered evidence to suggest that the Gmail accounts of dozens of human rights activists connected with China were being routinely accessed by third parties, most likely via phishing scams or malware placed on their computers. We also made clear that these attacks and the surveillance they uncovered—combined with attempts over the last year to further limit free speech on the web in China including the persistent blocking of websites such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Google Docs and Blogger—had led us to conclude that we could no longer continue censoring our results on Google.cn.

So earlier today we stopped censoring our search services—Google Search, Google News, and Google Images—on Google.cn. Users visiting Google.cn are now being redirected to Google.com.hk, where we are offering uncensored search in simplified Chinese, specifically designed for users in mainland China and delivered via our servers in Hong Kong. Users in Hong Kong will continue to receive their existing uncensored, traditional Chinese service, also from Google.com.hk. Due to the increased load on our Hong Kong servers and the complicated nature of these changes, users may see some slowdown in service or find some products temporarily inaccessible as we switch everything over.

Figuring out how to make good on our promise to stop censoring search on Google.cn has been hard. We want as many people in the world as possible to have access to our services, including users in mainland China, yet the Chinese government has been crystal clear throughout our discussions that self-censorship is a non-negotiable legal requirement. We believe this new approach of providing uncensored search in simplified Chinese from Google.com.hk is a sensible solution to the challenges we've faced—it's entirely legal and will meaningfully increase access to information for people in China. We very much hope that the Chinese government respects our decision, though we are well aware that it could at any time block access to our services. We will therefore be carefully monitoring access issues, and have created this new web page, which we will update regularly each day, so that everyone can see which Google services are available in China.

In terms of Google's wider business operations, we intend to continue R&D work in China and also to maintain a sales presence there, though the size of the sales team will obviously be partially dependent on the ability of mainland Chinese users to access Google.com.hk. Finally, we would like to make clear that all these decisions have been driven and implemented by our executives in the United States, and that none of our employees in China can, or should, be held responsible for them. Despite all the uncertainty and difficulties they have faced since we made our announcement in January, they have continued to focus on serving our Chinese users and customers. We are

immensely proud of them.

Posted by David Drummond, SVP, Corporate Development and Chief Legal Officer

## Appendix 8

<http://googleblog.blogspot.com/2010/06/update-on-china.html>

An update on China  
6/28/2010 10:45:00 PM

### **Update July 9:**

**We are very pleased that the government has renewed our ICP license and we look forward to continuing to provide web search and local products to our users in China.**

*(original post)*

Ever since we launched Google.cn, our search engine for mainland Chinese users, we have done our best to increase access to information while abiding by Chinese law. This has not always been an easy balance to strike, especially since our January announcement that we were no longer willing to censor results on Google.cn.

We currently automatically redirect everyone using Google.cn to Google.com.hk, our Hong Kong search engine. This redirect, which offers unfiltered search in simplified Chinese, has been working well for our users and for Google. However, it's clear from conversations we have had with Chinese government officials that they find the redirect unacceptable—and that if we continue redirecting users our Internet Content Provider license will not be renewed (it's up for renewal on June 30). Without an ICP license, we can't operate a commercial website like Google.cn—so Google would effectively go dark in China.

That's a prospect dreaded by many of our Chinese users, who have been vocal about their desire to keep Google.cn alive. We have therefore been looking at possible alternatives, and instead of automatically redirecting all our users, we have started taking a small percentage of them to a landing page on Google.cn that links to Google.com.hk—where users can conduct web search or continue to use Google.cn services like music and text translate, which we can provide locally without filtering. This approach ensures we stay true to our commitment not to censor our results on Google.cn and gives users access to all of our services from one page.

Over the next few days we'll end the redirect entirely, taking all our Chinese users to our new landing page—and today we re-submitted our ICP license renewal application based on this approach.

As a company we aspire to make information available to users everywhere, including China. It's why we have worked so hard to keep Google.cn alive, as well as to continue our research and development work in China. This new approach is consistent with our commitment not to self censor and, we believe, with local law. We are therefore hopeful that our license will be renewed on this basis so we can continue to offer our Chinese users services via Google.cn.

Posted by David Drummond, SVP, Corporate Development and Chief Legal Officer



## Appendix 9

<http://googleblog.blogspot.com/2011/06/ensuring-your-information-is-safe.html>

Ensuring your information is safe online

6/01/2011 12:42:00 PM

The Internet has been an amazing force for good in the world—opening up communications, boosting economic growth and promoting free expression. But like all technologies, it can also be used for bad things. Today, despite the efforts of Internet companies and the security community, identity theft, fraud and the hijacking of people's email accounts are common problems online.

Bad actors take advantage of the fact that most people aren't that tech savvy—hijacking accounts by using **malware and phishing** scams that trick users into sharing their passwords, or by using passwords obtained by hacking other websites. Most account hijackings are not very targeted; they are designed to steal identities, acquire financial data or send spam. But some attacks are targeted at specific individuals.

Through the strength of our cloud-based security and abuse detection systems\*, we recently uncovered a campaign to collect user passwords, likely through phishing. This campaign, which appears to originate from Jinan, China, affected what seem to be the personal Gmail accounts of hundreds of users including, among others, senior U.S. government officials, Chinese political activists, officials in several Asian countries (predominantly South Korea), military personnel and journalists.

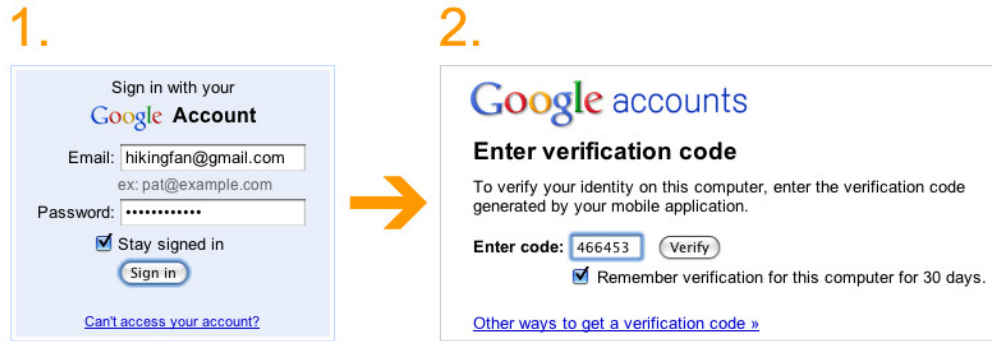
The goal of this effort seems to have been to monitor the contents of these users' emails, with the perpetrators apparently using stolen passwords to change peoples' forwarding and delegation settings. (Gmail enables you to forward your emails automatically, as well as grant others access to your account.)

Google detected and has disrupted this campaign to take users' passwords and monitor their emails. We have notified victims and secured their accounts. In addition, we have notified relevant government authorities.

It's important to stress that our internal systems have not been affected—these account hijackings were not the result of a security problem with Gmail itself. But we believe that being open about these security issues helps users better protect their information online.

Here are some ways to improve your security when using Google products:

- **Enable 2-step verification.** This Gmail feature uses a phone and second password on sign-in, and it protected some accounts from this attack. So check out [this video](#) on setting up 2-step verification.



- Use a strong password for Google that you do not use on any other site. Here's a [video](#) to help.
- Enter your password only into a proper sign-in prompt on a <https://www.google.comdomain>. We will never ask you to email your password or enter it into a form that appears within an email message. Here's a [video](#) with more advice.
- Check your Gmail settings for suspicious forwarding addresses ("Forwarding and POP/IMAP" tab, Fig. 1) or delegated accounts ("Accounts" tab, Fig. 2).

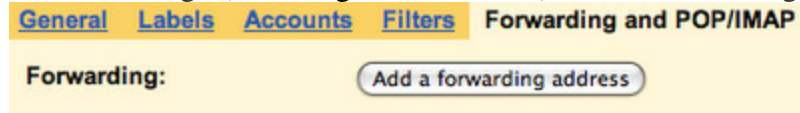


Fig. 1

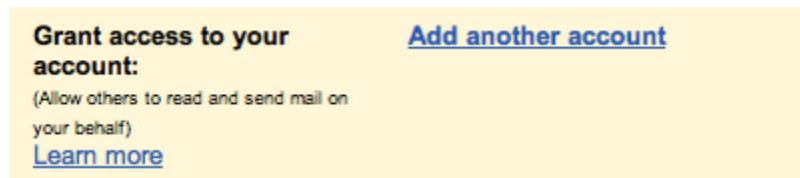


Fig. 2

- Watch for the red warnings about suspicious account activity that may appear on top of your Gmail inbox.
- Review the security features offered by the Chrome browser. If you don't already use Chrome, consider switching your browser to Chrome.
- Explore other security recommendations and a [video](#) with tips on how to stay safe across the web.

Please spend ten minutes today taking steps to improve your online security so that you can experience all that the Internet offers—while also protecting your data.

\*We also relied on user reports and this [external report](#) to uncover the campaign described.

Posted by Eric Grosse, Engineering Director, Google Security Team

## Appendix 10

<http://googleblog.blogspot.com/2004/09/china-google-news-and-source-inclusion.html>

China, Google News and source inclusion

9/27/2004 11:37:00 PM

There has been controversy about our new Google News China edition, specifically regarding which news sources we include. For users inside the People's Republic of China, we have chosen not to include sources that are inaccessible from within that country.

This was a difficult decision for Google, and we would like to share the factors we considered before taking this course of action.

Google is committed to providing easy access to as much information as possible. For Internet users in China, Google remains the only major search engine that does not censor any web pages. However, it's clear that search results deemed to be sensitive for political or other reasons are inaccessible within China. There is nothing Google can do about this.

For last week's launch of the Chinese-language edition of Google News, we had to decide whether sources that cannot be viewed in China should be included for Google News users inside the PRC. Naturally, we want to present as broad a range of news sources as possible. For every edition of Google News, in every language, we attempt to select news sources without regard to political viewpoint or ideology. For Internet users in China, we had to consider the fact that some sources are entirely blocked. Leaving aside the politics, that presents us with a serious user experience problem. Google News does not show news stories, but rather links to news stories. So links to stories published by blocked news sources would not work for users inside the PRC -- if they clicked on a headline from a blocked source, they would get an error page. It is possible that there would be some small user value to just seeing the headlines. However, simply showing these headlines would likely result in Google News being blocked altogether in China.

We also considered the amount of information that would be omitted. In this case it is less than two percent of Chinese news sources. On balance we believe that having a service with links that work and omits a fractional number is better than having a service that is not available at all. It was a difficult tradeoff for us to make, but the one we felt ultimately serves the best interests of our users located in China. We appreciate your feedback on this issue.

-- The Google Team

## Appendix 11

<http://googleblog.blogspot.com/2010/09/tools-to-visualize-access-to.html>

Tools to visualize access to information

9/20/2010 11:59:00 PM

When Google's services are blocked or filtered, we can't serve our users effectively. That's why we act every day to maximize free expression and access to information. To promote transparency around this flow of information, we've built an interactive online Transparency Report with tools that allow people to see where governments are demanding that we remove content and where Google services are being blocked. We believe that this kind of transparency can be a deterrent to censorship.

Like all companies, Google's services occasionally experience traffic disruptions. Our new traffic tracking tool helps us and others track whether these interruptions are related to mechanical outages or are government-induced. Each traffic graph shows historic traffic patterns for a given country and service. Graphs are updated as data is collected, then normalized and scaled in units of 0 to 100. This new tool—which is global and includes China—will replace the Mainland China service availability chart, which showed product access for China alone. By showing outages, the traffic graphs visualize disruptions in the free flow of information, whether it's a government blocking information or a cable being cut. For example, the graphs show that YouTube has been inaccessible in Iran since June 12, 2009, following the disputed presidential election.

In April we also created a website that shows the number of government inquiries for information about users and requests for Google to take down or censor content. Today we're updating this interactive Government Requests map with data from the first six months of 2010. We've also updated our analysis of the trends we saw across the data over the past six months. The new data for 2010 now includes the number of individual items asked to be removed, per country (for example, there may be many URLs per a single request.) You can learn more about trends in the data [here](#). We view this as a concrete step that, we hope, will encourage both companies and governments to be similarly transparent.

Free expression is one of our core values. We believe that more information means more choice, more freedom and ultimately more power for the individual. Free expression is, of course, also at the heart of Google's business. Our products are specifically designed to help people create, communicate, share opinions and find information across the globe. We hope this step toward greater transparency—and these tools—will help in ongoing discussions about the free flow of information.

**Update Jan 11, 2011: The Transparency Report is now available in each of the 6 U.N. languages—Arabic, Chinese (Simplified), French, Russian, Spanish and English.**

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